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# The Church Quarterly Review.

Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D.,  
Principal of King's College, London.

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ART. I.—THE EDUCATION QUESTION: FOREIGN PARALLELS.

1. *Board of Education Special Reports on Educational Subjects.* Vols. I.—VIII. 1896—1902.
2. *Encyclopaedisches Handbuch der Paedagogik.* Von W. REIN. II. Auflage. (Langensalza : Herman Beyer und Söhne, 1903.)
3. *Schweizerische Schulstatistik.* Von A. HUBER. Bd. VIII. 1894—5.
4. *Du Régime Légal de l'Enseignement Primaire en Hollande.* Par ROMAIN MOYERSOEN, avocat près la Cour d'Appel de Bruxelles. (Paris : Larose, 1895.)
5. *L'Enseignement Public en Belgique.* Vol. III. *Enseignement Primaire.* Par E. GREYSON. (Bruxelles : Rozez, 1897.)
6. *Regolamento Generale per l'Instruzione Elementare.* Approvato con R. Decreto 9 Ottobre 1895, n. 623, modificato a norma del R. Decreto 11 Ottobre 1897, n. 450, e preceduto dalla Relazione a Sua Maestà il Re. (Napoli : Casa Editrice E. Pietrocola, 1903.)

THE main difficulty of the present education controversy lies in the fact that throughout its course it has been well nigh impossible to get the religious question considered on its own merits. The problem is so inextricably mixed up

with those of party politics that most people find themselves unable to isolate it for separate consideration. Unfortunately the majority of Englishmen are not interested in education, whether on its secular or on its religious side, and it is only when we are interested that points appear to the mind with sufficient clearness to make them stand out by themselves. Since other matters seem to so many to be of more far reaching importance, questions of education fail to strike the attention, and become merged in larger wholes.

To correct this confusion of thought we cannot do better than look at the history of other countries. We then see that recent events in England form but a part of great movements. The moment we catch sight of similar features in foreign lands, those of our own begin to assume a new importance. The likeness between our experiences and what we discover there makes the question stand out in clearer distinctness each time it occurs. While the impressions of political circumstances, varying in each nation, efface one another, the similarity of the contests between the forces of positive and negative ideals in religion becomes each time more striking. For again and again we find the battle fought out, or being contested, on the same lines. Each country has entered into it in an independence of the others that is almost complete. It has arisen under varying conditions, and its duration, too, has varied. Sometimes the question has been prominent, and fought out on its own merits. Sometimes it has been subordinated in the contest to the whole programme of a party. But the final issues, where they have been reached, have almost always been alike—either settlement on the ground of toleration and frank recognition of the claims of all, or else the suppression of a minority by political force resulting in permanent irritation and dissatisfaction.

## I.

In some countries the question has not arisen because doctrinal differences hardly exist. A 'religious education' difficulty finds no place in small homogeneous States. In

Finland the schools are strictly denominational, and the great advance in education during the past century has been largely due to the interest taken in the matter by the clergy.<sup>1</sup> The case is similar in Denmark.

' If I am asked about religious difficulties in Danish schools,' writes Mr. J. S. Thornton, ' I can at once answer that they do not exist. There can, indeed, be no room for them where dissenters are not more numerous than nine in a thousand. Religious instruction is given in all secondary schools, but the Jew or agnostic may withdraw his child if he wish. The headmaster of one of the private recognised Latin schools in the capital is a Jew, but, of course, provides Christian instruction for the bulk of his pupils.'<sup>2</sup>

So, again, in Portugal the problem does not seem to have arisen. The main development of elementary education has taken place since the revolutions at the beginning of the last century. No anti-religious educational theories had the opportunity of taking root, and the somewhat negative attitude of the older tradition is now giving place to more positive ideals. As a consequence of the legal establishment of the Roman Catholic Church, definite religious teaching is included in the course in elementary schools, and this, it would seem, is no mere formal provision.

' The strictly religious tone of the throne and upper classes is giving an impulse to religious instruction and education, and, as a matter of fact, the whole atmosphere of public primary schools is impregnated with religious sentiment. Children who are not Catholics need not attend the religious instruction, but the number of exemptions may be considered as a negligible quantity. Even in the examinations, where the omission of a subject might act as an extraneous motive, the exemptions are practically confined to foreigners of other denominations and Jews.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Rein, *Encyclopaedisches Handbuch der Paedagogik*, II. Auflage, 1903. Bd. III. p. 211, Art. *Finlandisches Schulwesen*.

<sup>2</sup> Board of Education Special Reports. Vol. I. *Recent Educational Progress in Denmark*, by J. S. Thornton, p. 608.

<sup>3</sup> Board of Education Special Reports. Vol. V. *Primary and Secondary Instruction in Portugal*, p. 457.

As in Denmark, the people are practically all of one religion, education is advancing, and there is no religious difficulty. In certain other countries the difficulty has not arisen, owing to a cause exactly the opposite of this. So many different shades of religious opinion exist side by side that the adherents of no one religious creed have formed a body strong enough to fight the question of religious education by itself, or even to bring it into prominence by the side of great questions which affect the people as a whole. Thus the United States of America and certain of our own Colonies have the appearance of having settled down to a contented undenominationalism or secularism. Churchmen and Roman Catholics, of course, do not acquiesce in the existing system, and, though it is early yet to judge of its practical results, there are many others who are by no means satisfied with the outlook.

## II.

We turn to countries where the dominant party has used its power to enforce its own system, and has established a 'Roman peace.' This has been the result of a fair trial of strength, but in the case of a great nation like the French it is difficult to say how far the educational policy is really dictated by the will of the people. Even more than has been the case with us, government has been strictly by party, so that national and political interests may have seemed to be pitted against those of religious education. Anyhow the rights of minorities have been ruthlessly ignored, and the negative attitude has been pushed to its logical conclusion of anti-Christian secularism. A settlement has been effected at the price of intensified religious bitterness, and it would be rash to prophesy how long that settlement will last.

In Belgium, on the other hand, though a majority has used its power to an extent that many of its supporters deem unwise, it has granted full toleration to the non-religious minority. The party in power, moreover, certainly represents the will of the people on the subject.

In a small country where matters of foreign policy play little or no part, more interest is naturally felt in questions of education, and they are relatively more prominent.

Elementary education in Belgium was first really taken in hand in 1842, and by the law of September 23 three classes of schools were recognized—the communal schools, which were denominational but entirely under the control of the local authority; the adopted private schools, which were carried on in connexion with particular religious bodies; and the recognized private schools, which might be secular. All these were supported by the State and the Commune, the first two classes entirely, the third in part.

In 1878 the Liberal party came into power, and almost immediately abolished religious teaching within school hours in the provided schools, and did away with rate aid to the adopted and private schools. This harsh measure, which was only carried in the Senate by a majority of one vote, aroused strong opposition and led to an immediate extension of privately supported religious schools. Three years later the Government was turned out, and the supporters of religious teaching returned to power and have remained in office ever since. All schools are now religious and denominational except some of those of the third class, and all are supported alike by the State. The third class, the recognized private schools, may be secular, and the Commune may, but need not, support them out of the local rate. The religious teaching is organized and provided by the ecclesiastical authorities, and in schools where all are not of the same creed provision must be made for the teaching of minorities above twenty in number in small schools, and above forty in larger. The question is so far settled in Belgium, and there is no religious difficulty properly speaking. Still, as in France, it has been settled by the force of a parliamentary majority, and not on the basis of general consent, though the settlement is in exactly the opposite direction. A Commune has no right to maintain a secular school, and many of the supporters of the Government consider that a change in political opinion

may reverse the position, and that their opponents will then take their revenge and establish universal secularism.<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere the issue has been fought on directly religious grounds, though the opponents of denominational schools have been actuated rather by political motives. Thus, in Manitoba before its union with Canada in 1870 there was no system of public education. From 1870 to 1890 the principle of denominationalism was nominally accepted, though the only two classes of schools were Protestant and Catholic. As the stream of immigration increased, and various religious communities established themselves, they claimed the right to set up their own schools. Since this seemed likely to perpetuate differences of race and language the Government tried to coerce the different religious bodies into unity. By the Act of 1890 universal undenominationalism was established, and all the schools supported by Government were ordered to be of one class. This was met by strenuous opposition on the part of the Roman Catholics, who pointed out that as they paid taxes equally with the others they had an equal right to a share of Government support for their schools. A system of facilities for religious teaching was offered by way of compromise, but they stood out for separate schools. The return to power of a Liberal Government, elected on quite different issues, seemed to take away all hope that their demands would be acceded to, and they have been forced to content themselves with a partial victory. Any Christian clergyman is allowed in country districts to teach a class of not less than ten children of the denomination he represents, or of twenty-five in urban areas, provided that the parents desire and the managers allow it. Where a majority of the scholars are Roman Catholics the parents may demand that at least one of the teachers of the staff shall be of the same faith. In the North-West Provinces the Roman Catholics are allowed to allocate their education rate to their own separate schools, and in that of Quebec, where they are in

<sup>1</sup> Board of Education Special Report. Vol. I. *Recent Legislation on Elementary Education in Belgium*, by M. E. Sadler and R. L. Morant, 1896-1897. W. Rein, *op. cit.* 1903, Art. *Belgisches Unterrichtswesen*.

the majority, a dual system is in force, and no attempt has been made to coerce the undenominational minority.<sup>1</sup>

The first great advance of elementary education in Germany was due to the influence of Pestalozzi (1746-1827). This was specially strong in Prussia, where the movement, being for the most part popular, was able to keep clear of political bias, and the schools established as a result of its impetus escaped over-regulation by the State. In 1840, however, the Government found it necessary to step in in order to correct what were considered to be 'überaufklärärischer' tendencies of the movement, with the result that the course of teaching in the schools of the people was more strictly limited to elementary subjects, and the religious lesson was made the central feature of the syllabus. This centralization of educational authority was not found satisfactory. In 1859 complaints were made in the Landtag which led to an alteration in the character and amount of religious instruction, and a commission was appointed to inquire into the whole state of the schools. This prepared the way for a greater extension of local self-government, while it insisted on the appointment of experts as inspectors, to take the place of the clergy who were not specially qualified for the work.

Such a course would easily have been recognized as a necessary reform, but unfortunately political considerations were allowed to overshadow the interests of education. Under the Falk Ministry, from 1872-1879, a new law of inspection was passed which emphasized the absolute power of the State in the supervision of the schools. This was good in so far as it raised the standard of efficiency in teaching, and its result in reducing the number of hours devoted to religious instruction was probably justified by the circumstances, but the Falk laws were administered in a spirit of hostility to the Church, and were used as a weapon in the Kulturkampf. The claim of right to inspect was extended to the religious teaching, and over this also

<sup>1</sup> Special Reports. Vol. I. *The Manitoba School System*, by R. L. Morant, 1896, p. 658 sqq. Vol. IV. *The System of Education in Manitoba*, by A. E. Twentyman.

the State was substituted for the Church as the sole authority. 'Simultanschulen,' or schools where children belonging to different communions were taught side by side, were encouraged wherever possible, with the express purpose of making the religious character of the teaching undenominational.

The resistance of the Church, coupled with the political fear of Social Democracy, led to a reversal of this policy. In 1892 the Zeidlitz Bill, and the administration which accompanied it, emphasized afresh the importance of the religious lesson, and established a complete denominational system, with separate schools for all recognized religious bodies wherever possible. The religious instruction given is under the supervision of the clergy, and arrangements are made for teaching of minorities. It is argued that non-recognized bodies and Jews are not fairly treated, and in the recent discussion on the new Elementary Schools Bill considerable dissatisfaction has been expressed with its provisions, by which this policy is continued. This may, however, be due to the dislike of over-centralization, and to the feeling that the law is being used as a weapon with which to fight Socialism, rather than to any desire to prevent children being brought up in the faith of their parents.<sup>1</sup>

In Holland the struggle was long and severe, because the upholders of religious education had to vindicate their position, not against a political sentiment but in opposition to those who represented the party of educational progress, which had unfortunately become associated with undenominationalism and 'neutral' schools. Before the Government undertook the task of education in 1806 the 'Society for the Public Good' had been doing the pioneer work of education. Unlike our National Society, however, it had established its schools not on the denominational but on the neutral basis. This basis was adopted by the Government for all its schools, and undenominationalism

<sup>1</sup> W. Rein, *op. cit.* art. *Deutsches Knabenschulwesen*, Band II. p. 8992. Cf. also Special Reports. Vol. IX. *The Smaller Public Elementary Schools of Prussia and Saxony*, by E. M. Field, 1901. *The Times*, May 23, 1901.

was established and endowed from the beginning. At first it seemed to work fairly well. In Belgium, it is true, it aroused fierce opposition, but after the revolt of 1830 the Flemish people were free to manage their own affairs for themselves. In Holland dissatisfaction grew more slowly but no less surely. The burden of maintaining the privately managed schools grew heavier and heavier. Palliatives were granted. It was ordered that teachers should be of the same religion as the scholars. The clergy were offered 'facilities' for using the buildings out of school hours; but it soon became clear that to remedy the injustice united action was necessary on the part of the friends of religious education. An 'anti-revolutionary' party was formed which prepared for a long struggle to vindicate the position of 'religion as the basis of education.' Naturally it was not successful at first. The 'neutral' schools were in possession of the field, and the voluntary schools were being slowly crushed out. But gradually the issue grew clear, and though in 1883 the Liberal Government threw out the proposals made by Dr. Schaepman by the sheer force of their majority, the principle was won, and the discredited Government fell at the next election.

The right of denominational schools to State aid was thus secured. It is true that the principle of perfect religious equality was not conceded. The managers of denominational schools have still to provide their own buildings, but the grievance is comparatively small. After a struggle of nearly eighty years the difficulty was settled in the only possible way, by a frank recognition of religious differences.<sup>1</sup>

In Switzerland the settlement of the difficulty was short and decisive. As in Belgium the programme of undenominationalism seems to have been borrowed from other lands upon purely theoretical grounds, on the assumption that it was a necessary part of a Liberal policy. Not unnaturally it was summarily rejected by a people at once independent, democratic, and religious. The government of the country is strongly localized. All that the Bund,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Board of Education Special Reports. Vol. VIII. *Primary Education in the Netherlands*, by R. Balfour, 1902.

or Central Authority, demands in the matter of education is freedom of conscience and efficiency of teaching. By the Constitution of 1874 all schools are to be national, the education given must be obligatory and free, and the system adopted must be such that adherents of all creeds may receive instruction without prejudice to their faith. No teacher is to be compelled to give religious lessons against his will, and the character of the religious education of the child is to be decided by its parent or guardian. The actual establishment of the schools was left to each canton, and the methods varied in each district; but all teaching was denominational and no religious difficulty existed.

The elections of 1882 returned a large Liberal majority to the Bund. The question of education had not been agitated, but it was found in many districts that the local authorities had been backward in providing schools. Had the National Council contented itself with its proper function of insisting on efficiency no trouble would have arisen, but the lines on which the proposed new law was to be framed shewed that it was intended to enforce a uniform system of undenominationalism, obviously as a stepping-stone to a purely secular scheme. This raised a universal outcry on the part of all who were interested both in religion and in education. Fortunately the Swiss Constitution provides for an appeal to the country on any particular point. The question was put to the people, and though the mass were Liberals politically, the obnoxious proposals of their representatives were rejected by 318,139 votes to 172,010, the largest poll ever recorded on such an appeal.

The difficulty has never reappeared. Each canton has its own method of carrying on its schools, and the arrangements for religious instruction vary also. Sometimes it is given by the clergy, sometimes by the teacher, sometimes by both. The class is sometimes held in the school, sometimes in the church. In some cantons the lessons are given in the class-room, and the children are taken to church for worship. All the education is denominational, and all schools are equally supported by the money that is paid by all alike. Widely as the various methods differ, one

cannot help being struck with their reasonableness and the evident desire of those who elaborated them that every child should be well trained in the doctrines and practice of the Church to which its parents belong. Each religious body is, as a consequence, keenly interested in its schools and fired with the ambition of making them the best. Any proposal to extend the power of the Bund and by so doing to crush out this local interest and variety has been resisted by those who care most for education and religion.<sup>1</sup>

In Italy the religious difficulty has never become acute. The basis of all subsequent education has been the Casati law of November 13, 1859, by which the Communes were ordered to establish schools and in them to make provision for the proper instruction of the children in the religion of their parents. This may be given either by the regular teachers, or by those of the clergy who are authorized by the local authority. As a consequence, though the condition of elementary education still leaves much to be desired, the Government has been able to give its whole attention to the improvement both of the Communal and of the private schools. In the official report to the King, dated October 9, 1895, the Minister of Public Education reaffirms the 'liberal principles' of the Casati law as to the obligation of the Communes to provide definite religious instruction in their schools, and to see that it is either entrusted to competent outside teachers, or that the regular masters are properly qualified to give it.<sup>2</sup> The Communes which have refused to carry out the law are comparatively few, though it is objected that it is unsatisfactory that a purely secular body should have complete control of the religious teaching, and the Communal schools cannot have the same religious influence as the private schools. The Socialist party is agitating for secular education as part of its anticlerical programme rather than as an educational improvement.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Special Reports. Vol. III. *The National Organization of Education in Switzerland*, pp. 9, 12, by R. L. Morant.

<sup>2</sup> *Relazione a S.M. il Re*, p. 5.

## III.

In thus reviewing the history of the struggle in different lands and under varying conditions, certain features stand out with great clearness. These are, the nature of the essential points at stake, the need of keeping them clear from all side issues, and the fact that settlements are only effected by recognizing the rights of all.

The essential points at stake have been two. The real nature of the struggle is shewn to be firstly between positive and negative ideals, and in the second place between the advocates of religious toleration and those who wish to force all men into one mould. In England undenominationalism is still largely religious, though its prominently negative character is obvious and is the natural outcome of a conception of religion which places in the forefront the duty of protesting and dissenting. Even here its general drift towards secularism is not difficult to discern ; but it is when we look at foreign lands, and see this same attitude in various stages of development, that the severance of the two schools of thought is made quite clear. The one regards religious teaching as at best a part of education. It confines this to a single lesson, or separates it entirely from the school course. In proportion as the negative spirit is strong religion tends to disappear, and in France its evolution has reached the logical conclusion of making education anti-Christian. The positive spirit, on the other hand, regards religion as the basis of education, underlying the whole conduct of the school. On these two different ideals are grounded two different conceptions of education itself, the one mainly narrowed down to intellectual and manual training, the other seeking, in addition, to develop the character and to discipline the emotions, and so to edify the whole man.

In the question of toleration it is remarkable how well the party in favour of positive religious teaching comes out of the examination. In Prussia, it is true, the complaint is made that there is no tolerance for unauthorized sects, but this would appear to be due to political reasons.

In Belgium, certainly, the Communes are not allowed to establish secular schools, but those parents who wish may withdraw their children from the religious lesson, though of course the denominational atmosphere remains. But where the secular, or undenominational, party is in power, parents desiring religious teaching for their children are seldom allowed to have it in the public schools, and even then it has to be given almost always at the expense of the religious body concerned. It seems to be generally assumed that secular or undenominational teaching should be supported out of the public funds, however much certain of the ratepayers may dislike it; but it is only after a struggle, as in the North-West Provinces of Canada, that they are allowed to allocate the funds which they provide to the form of teaching of which they approve. In Holland religious schools are penalized just as they are in England, and their supporters had to fight for years to get even the recognition they now possess. The harsh measures of the Government of 1878 injured the cause of Liberalism in Belgium to a degree from which it has never recovered. The high-handed proposals of the Swiss Radicals raised an unparalleled storm of opposition from men who were their supporters on other grounds. In Manitoba the Roman Catholic minority had to be contented with far less than is granted to the undenominationalist minority in Quebec, while France has become a byword for its militant anti-religious policy. Wherever the religious difficulty has arisen it has been due to the attempt of the negative party to enforce its views by the strength of the law.

But the question of religious education needs to be fought out on its own merits. To mix it up with other interests is to confuse the issues. It is most unfortunate that, in many cases, the party in favour of religious instruction has seemed to be fighting against educational progress, and this has not only been the case where, owing to the penalizing of their schools, they were committed to upholding an inferior type. In Holland and in Germany it would appear as though, in the past at any rate, those who were really most interested in education were on the other side, and

this is no doubt the reason why the struggle in these countries has been so protracted. When each party has right on its side in one point, each has an unfailing source of vitality. When, on the other hand, as in Switzerland, the advocates of advanced education and those of religious teaching are one, then the controversy is soon settled.

Still more important is it to keep clear of political parties. The settlement is said to be precarious in Belgium and Prussia because religious education is upheld by many on party grounds as a preventive against Socialism. The national and patriotic sentiment of Canada has unfortunately come to think its unanimity endangered by tolerating varieties of religious teaching. We are told that the misfortunes of the Church in France are entirely due to her having opposed the Republic. In Holland the settlement was secured by the action of those Liberals who put justice before the supposed necessity of voting with their leaders. In Switzerland the contest was soon over because the Referendum enabled the question to be settled apart from questions of party.

We need, therefore, in England, if not the formation of a Church party, at least the independent organization of Church feeling. The experience of foreign countries shews us that Churchmen who are Liberals will find it easier to place their Churchmanship first when it is clearly shewn that a secular or undenominational policy is no necessary part of Liberalism; and the course of events in other countries may serve as a warning that Conservatives are quite capable of utilizing, rather than supporting, the religious ideas of Churchmen. Strength will always be respected by either party.

Again, from those happy countries which have fought through the question, we learn that a settlement can only come by recognizing frankly and fully the rights of all. The ideal of unanimity is a noble one, but it cannot be obtained by persecution, or by trying to force all men into one mould. The attempt to do so can only result in disaster. 'It is urged,' writes Sir Robert Morant,

'that support may be found for considerations of this nature by observing in certain countries in Europe, and to some extent in India, the inevitable effect of establishing a uniform system of education which either deliberately attempts to crush, or else fails to allow for, such differences as these, especially in the religious sphere—effects of which the outcome is visible first in a general unsettledness of convictions among the people, and subsequently in active disintegrating tendencies in the moral, social, and political spheres of a magnitude that is probably not yet realised by the outside observer.'<sup>1</sup>

The end of our religious divisions can only come by voluntary union, and the first step towards this is knowledge. It is necessary for each man to know clearly the doctrines of the body to which he belongs. He will then be able to explain them to others, and so instructed men will gradually gravitate to union in that body which is able in the clear light of knowledge to prove itself to be in possession of the truth.

#### IV.

How can this be practically carried out? Let the present Government—or the next if this one refuses—bring in a Bill which shall instruct the local authorities to provide schools of all classes with teaching in accordance with the wishes of the parents. There are practically four religious positions in England. The Church stands by herself. The Nonconformists have for all practical purposes united on a common base of undenominationalism which more and more is coming to represent the theology of the Free Church Council. The Roman Catholics are a communion apart, with clear ideas of what they want. In certain quarters there is a distinct Jewish population. In most urban districts, however, the authorities would only have to provide or support schools of two kinds, Church schools and undenominational or Nonconformist. Where Nonconformists of any particular denomination were numerous enough and desired a special school for their

<sup>1</sup> Special Reports. Vol. III. *The National Organization of Education of all Grades as practised in Switzerland*, p. 13 note.

children with special facilities they should of course have the right to have it. The local authorities would so arrange that a school of either class should be within reach of each child. The same provision would be made for Roman Catholics and Jews, where they exist, or for any Non-conforming body sufficiently numerous to demand a separate school. All would then be treated equally, and favour shewn to none.

In single school areas the school would be of the character of the majority, with provision for the teaching of the minority. In districts where the majority were Church-people the head-master would be a Churchman, and the assistant would be a Nonconformist who would give religious instruction to the minority. In places where Nonconformists were predominant the school would be 'undenominational,' with provision for the teaching of the Church minority. This would not be an ideal state of things, but that which really mars the ideal is the fact that divisions exist.

Let each teacher say in which class of school he would prefer to serve. This would get rid of the difficulty about tests. No conscientious Nonconformist would wish to be the head of, or to serve in, a definitely Church school ; as all schools would be supported alike no Churchman would be tempted by a higher salary to go to a school where he could not freely teach his Creed. In the same way managers could ask to serve on the committee of a school of the class in which they were specially interested, and so the connexion of the school with the local religious life, on which so much depends, would be preserved.

The provision of schools would roughly correspond to the proportion of rates paid by the different bodies, with a slight advantage to the Nonconformists as being the poorer body. To protect the consciences of the few who would not be able to realize this fact, any one might be allowed to earmark his rates to his own class of school. A few zealous Nonconformists would do so, and thereby provoke a corresponding number of Churchmen to do the same. But practically no one would trouble about the

matter, as the vast majority would see the fairness of such a plan.

It is by some such method that the question has been settled in countries abroad, in Canada, and, we may add, in Ireland, and surely it is not beyond the power of English statesmanship to effect a similar solution.

CLEMENT F. ROGERS.

ART. II.—THE PROPHET OF CALABRIA : JOACHIM  
OF FLORIS AND THE ‘ETERNAL GOSPEL’

1. JOACHIM ABBAS. *Liber Concordiae Novi ac Veteris Testamenti.* (Venetiis, in aedd. F. Bindoni et M. Pasini, 1519.)
  2. JOACHIM ABBAS. *Expositio in Apocalypsim, cui adjecta sunt ejusdem Psalterium Decem Cordarum, &c.* (Venetiis, per Simonem de Luere, 1527.)
  3. *Eresia nel Medio Evo.* By FELICE TOCCO. (Firenze, 1884.)
  4. H. DENIFLE in *Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte.* Vol. I. 1885.
  5. *Nouvelles Études d’Histoire Religieuse.* Par E. RENAN. (Paris: Bourloton, 1884.)
  6. *Weissagungsglaube in der Christlichen Zeit.* Von J. J. I. DÖLLINGER. (Raumer’s Historisches Taschenbuch, 1871.)
  7. *Acta Sanctorum* for May 29.
- And other works.

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages in Italy there existed side by side with official Catholicism a religion which was not that of Rome. Unsystematic and unproselytizing, it never deserved the name of heresy. It accepted and respected the Church’s formulas as fast as they were rounded off and made matters of faith ; and that it ever found itself, as a spiritual religion needs must do, in sharp opposition to the temporal claims of the Church and her glaring abuses caused its adherents bitter pangs ; for to organized spiritual rebellion the Italian mind has never been predisposed.

Rather than heresy, perhaps the title of mysticism would be an appropriate one ; but though the chief mark of the habit of mind which goes by that name—the demand for immediateness between God and man—is found among the Italian thinkers, they had little in common with the mystics of Germany working out their own salvation in country parsonages, or those of Spain analyzing love and justifying massacre in the gloom of Dominican convents. Every man of light in Italy in those days was compelled by the restless ferment of the times to be also a man of leading, whether in politics or in art ; and it is among the foremost of their time in those capacities that we find the chiefs of this religion. Arnold of Brescia, Francis of Assisi, Contarini among administrators ; Dante, Giotto, Vittoria Colonna, Michel Angelo among artists—these are names to which it is difficult to attach the distinctive title of Romanist ; yet the Christianity and the Catholicity of such folk are beyond dispute.

Heretical or not, Italian mysticism found its doom in the system devised by the Fathers of Trent. Compact and perfect, with every breach made by the reforming councils of the fifteenth century closed and repaired, the great edifice of Roman Catholicism which they reared had never a loophole or a postern gate for the entrance of a personal religion demanding direct intercourse between God and man. Remorseless rule took the place of unregulated fervour, and the words of Christ, ‘One flock, one shepherd,’ were at last supposed to be realized. The flock was indeed well guarded. Policed by the Jesuits—‘the Praetorian guard of the new empire’—and protected by the prevailing political system of Europe, it seemed as if unity had at length been secured within it. But the price of uniformity was a high one. The private judgement was either crushed or infuriated ; men of coarser mould betook themselves to secret Paganism ; those of more delicate nature accepted the prescribed forms of belief as desirable for good Christians and good citizens, and lived their own life, careful to avoid the semblance of singularity in externals.

But the Council of Trent destroyed for ever one happy

delusion—one hope of better things which had long held a foremost place in the imagination of the Italian pietists. That Christianity as Christ left it, and even as the Apostles were supposed to have systematized it, was not a definite but a progressive religion, continually to be improved until under the guidance of the Holy Ghost it should culminate in the evangelization of all mankind and the establishment of a kingdom of heaven on earth, they believed they could prove from Holy Scripture. The single text, St. John xvi. 12, 13, ‘I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now : howbeit when He the Spirit of Truth is come He will guide you into all the truth,’ had been quoted centuries before to support a like belief ; and it was not difficult to add others. ‘It is the spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing,’ might be supposed to refer respectively to the Person of the Holy Ghost and to the visible hierarchy. This once assumed, the writings of St. Paul (notably in Romans viii.) furnish a full commentary upon and amplification of such a judgement. An unhappy stress was also laid upon the words ‘where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty’ (2 Cor. iii. 17) as promising the ultimate abolition of the hierarchical yoke ; for the disorders to which misuse of the text might and did lead were not foreseen. There was less danger in the assumption that by our Lord’s promise that the rule of the Comforter should bring about the judgement of the ‘Prince of this world,’ He had recognized the imperfect character of His mission, and by His words ‘Receive the Holy Ghost,’ had even after His Resurrection bidden His disciples prepare for the more perfect dispensation which was to come. On this and on similar texts was founded a complete theory of the progressive improvement of humanity under the successive sway of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which was to culminate in the establishment of the kingdom of the Spirit, and the terrestrial anticipation of the state of the blessed hereafter.

This was in reality Montanism. The cardinal principle of the strange movement so called was completely overlooked by generations of theologians. Attracted by the out-

ward demonstrations of its adherents—the prophesyings and the like, which so disgusted the orthodox of the early Church—they ignored the deep spiritual principle which underlay these manifestations and absurdities. Neander, Dorner, and Kaye in his elaborate work on Tertullian, have alike taken this superficial view; and Newman was the first to point out the true inwardness of the movement. ‘On the other hand,’ he says, ‘in spite of Tertullian’s asseveration of the immutability of the Creed, the very foundation of Montanism is development, though not of doctrine, yet of discipline and conduct.’<sup>1</sup> And this development Tertullian plainly tells us was to be under the direction of the Holy Ghost. ‘God,’ he says, ‘His work having been spoiled by the devil, sent the Paraclete that inasmuch as human insufficiency could not comprehend all at once, the polity of the Church might be directed and ordered and brought to perfection by that vicar of the Lord, the Holy Ghost.’<sup>2</sup> And he goes on to quote as supporting this view the famous text in St. John (xvi. 12). Of this principle the prophesyings were but the result. ‘An enthusiast,’ it has been said, ‘would be naturally tempted to connect a low standard of holiness—a decline of faith and love—with the cessation of these gifts, and therefore to seek their renewal.’ Newman connects Montanism still more directly with the belief of the Italian mystics,<sup>3</sup> and even speaks of ‘the heresiarch’ himself as ‘the unsightly anticipation of St. Francis’; and it is sufficiently striking that the very word ‘spiritales’ which the enthusiasts of Tertullian’s time applied to themselves became the recognized name of the pietists of the Order of Assisi. In every respect, in the belief in development of Christian doctrine under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, in the belief in the final establishment of the rule of the saints on earth,<sup>4</sup> in the glorification

<sup>1</sup> *Essay on Development*, pp. 349–350.

<sup>2</sup> *De Virg. Vel. cap. 1.* Cf. *de Monogamia, cap. 2.*

<sup>3</sup> *Development*, 350.

<sup>4</sup> Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iii. c. 24, in explaining the vision or mirage of a city in the air, seen in Judaea on forty successive mornings, fully sets forth his belief as to a kingdom of the saints on earth.

of asceticism, and even, as we shall presently see, in the revival of prophecy, Montanism was the exact prototype of the so-called Italian mysticism of the twelfth century.

Subsequent ages have again and again witnessed the recrudescence of such ideas. The early Quakers were undoubtedly inspired by them, and the modern Irvingites at least hold the principle of the possibility of renewal by the Holy Ghost of dormant gifts. The Abbé Loisy's theory of development is somewhat different, being rather that of adaptation than of perfection.<sup>1</sup> He includes doctrine as a subject of improvement, and he does not distinctly refer to the Holy Ghost as the directing and improving power.

But in one point Tertullian's doctrine was completed and enlarged by the Italians. To them the 'flesh,' the 'Prince of this world,' and so forth, had a very definite meaning—not, indeed, the Papacy, but the semi-feudal hierarchy of Europe. It was this, with its claims to obedience from all the clergy, regular and secular—its parish priests and their privileges, so galling to the monastic and afterwards to the mendicant Orders—which seemed to delay and to obstruct the success of the Holy Ghost. Reformers like Nicolas of Cusa, indeed, might venture to class Pope and bishops together as not 'of the essence of the Church';<sup>2</sup> but the Italian pietists had to find a way of reconciling the existence of the Papacy with the perfect rule of the Spirit. Again, it was the hierarchy, with its wealth and its worldliness, which attracted their enmity in their aspirations for the return of the Church to its primitive condition of poverty and hardship—for the establishment, in fact, of a state of things conformable to the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. To some, indeed, and notably to Arnold of Brescia, the reduction of the Church to its early simplicity seemed the first necessity of reform.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 71. 'L'œuvre d'adaptation dure encore, which is indeed the keynote of Loisy's system—not of Newman's.

<sup>2</sup> See the article 'Nicolas of Cusa, Cardinal and Reformer' (*C. Q. R.* April 1906).

<sup>3</sup> Felice Tocco, *Eresia nel Medio Evo*, pp. 246 *sqq.*, labours to prove the connexion of Arnolism with the Patarenes, and through them with the ascetic sect of the Cathari.

Arnold's political career renders his motives suspect, but we should not forget that he was a devoted disciple of Abelard in mysticism, and that in his desire for the desecularization of the Church he was seconded by no less a person than St. Bernard, his bitter adversary on other points.<sup>1</sup> In the glorification of mendicancy by Francis and Dominic, in the revival of the Orders of hermits, and in the fanaticism of the Fraticelli and their like, the world saw in the thirteenth century the actual establishment of asceticism. Yet the saintly spirits of the twelfth, who had hoped and prayed that thereby the whole Church might be leavened and restored, would have found their prayers unanswered.

But the new Montanism, as has been said, was not wanting even in the 'charismata'; it had its prophet if not its prophets. The age of Barbarossa and of his savage son Henry VI. was indeed one in which suffering humanity clutched eagerly at crumbs of comfort in the shape of promises of better things; and such promises were afforded by the writings of Joachim, abbot of Fiore in Calabria. Now half-forgotten, his name was for a century or more one of the best-known in Europe, while for at least half that time his personality was regarded as almost divine. His books were to many readers, even to those who did not believe in him, as familiar as the Bible itself;<sup>2</sup> and there can still be traced on the margin of the fateful manuscripts the awestruck comments of those who hung upon his words as matter of life and death. 'Nota!' 'Nota bene!' 'En magnum prophetam!' With such ejaculations the trembling disciple scored the pages of the half-sacred book.<sup>3</sup> And such disciples were numbered by thousands. To all civilized Europe he was known as 'Abbot Joachim' without qualification of birthplace or abode—like another Isaiah or Ezekiel. Yet he never used his great credit—for he enjoyed the friendship of Popes and Emperors—to obtain for him-

<sup>1</sup> Quotations in Tocco, *op. cit.* pp. 239 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the wearisome argument, extending through many pages of Salimbene's Chronicle, between Hugh of Digne and the unbeliever Peter of Apulia.

<sup>3</sup> Renan, *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire Religieuse*.

self a position of power and emolument ; he was content to die as he had lived—a hermit abbot of Calabria. But for half a century after his death he still held the world spellbound. From the great Bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste himself, down to Brother Salimbene scribbling his chronicles of good dinners in his Lombard convent, all the educated world was on the tiptoe of expectation to see whether the year 1260 would indeed bring with it the promised millennium. Nor did the stultification of Joachim's prophecies by the lapse of time entirely destroy his credit.<sup>1</sup> The echoes of his doctrines were heard in the most widely distant quarters of Europe for two hundred years or more ; and though he missed canonization by a hair's breadth, to his countrymen in Calabria he remained for centuries a person half-divine, whose memory was celebrated by a yearly festival.<sup>2</sup> Only his books, their prophecies unfulfilled, ceased to have more than an antiquarian interest, and when the Renaissance came they attained but to a single printed edition. He had indeed not hesitated to assign definite dates to the events he predicted, and though in an impostor this exactness would argue shortsighted folly, in the case of Joachim of Fiore it is merely a mark of the man's honest simplicity.

It is this very simplicity which renders his character so enigmatic. He stands well-nigh alone among like prophets of all ages as having been inspired neither by desire of gain nor anxiety for personal reputation. Nor can it be said

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger, *Weissagungsglaube in der Christlichen Zeit* (Raumer's *Histor. Taschenbuch*, 1871), p. 295, remarks on the numerous instances of such failures. St. Bernard, Gregory VII., Vincent Ferrer, and even Catherine of Siena made similar blunders, but they were considered to have simply misunderstood revelations actually received.

This book by Döllinger, translated by Dr. Plummer, is, so far as concerns the section on Joachim, of little value. The writer had never read the prophet's works, and Denifle charges him with downright plagiarizing from the work of one Friderich, a theological candidate, published in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* (Jena, 1859), pp. 349–363 and 449–514. The resemblances are certainly striking.

<sup>2</sup> Antiphon and collect for his day are given in the *Acta Sanctorum*, May 29, p. 90.

that his motives were political. That he was an anti-imperialist is true ; but it is with hesitation that he identifies the empire with the powers of evil, while he is fully alive to the faults of the Papacy he supports. His theory of Antichrist is little more than an accident of his system. It is the absence of the sinister or self-seeking element in Joachim which has puzzled historians.

Algernon Herbert, probably the only Englishman of later days who ever read the works of the prophet through, did certainly, in a series of articles, now forgotten, in the *British Magazine*,<sup>1</sup> attack him as a conspirator leagued with the Popes ; but his conclusions are chiefly based on writings falsely attributed to Joachim, as we shall see. He was not the first to mistake the character of the man. A determined Papist, Joachim was classed as a 'reformer before the Reformation' by Protestants eager to find witnesses for the truth in dark times.<sup>2</sup> An honest hater of heretics, he has been convicted by his own friends of heresy gross and pernicious ; and, finally, a furious Guelph, he has found immortality in the *Paradiso* of the great Ghibelline poet.<sup>3</sup>

On many peculiarities of his character the circumstances of his birth and breeding throw a strong light. Calabria was indeed a kind of Southern Scotland, to the full as stern and wild, and like its northern counterpart the home of a stern and mystic religion. Among its mountain fastnesses Basilian monks, uncompromising ascetics, had found their home ; and the whole religion of the country was tinged with a mysticism, both Greek and Oriental, borrowed from the successive civilizations which had at distant intervals ruled the land. There about the year 1140 Joachim was born, of a family of the 'nobility of the robe,' and was at first, it is said, destined for a courtier's life by his parents. Such a story agrees little with later legends,<sup>4</sup> according to

<sup>1</sup> Vols. xvi., xvii., xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Jo. Wolf, *Lectiones Memorabiles* (Latingae, 1600), pp. 488 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Dante, *Paradiso*, xii. 139-141 : 'di spirito profetico dotato,' which, with the significant addition, 'errore procul haeretico,' are the very words of the collect in the *Acta SS.* referred to above.

<sup>4</sup> The chief authority for these is Gabriel Barrius or Sirletus, a Franciscan, whose Life of Joachim is prefixed to the numerous editions

which his father and mother were a veritable Zacharias and Elisabeth, warned at his birth, by angelic appearances, of the holy nature of their child, reverently deferring his baptism for many years,<sup>1</sup> and one of them—his mother—dying as soon as the rite was performed. Stripped of all these embellishments, his history runs as follows.<sup>2</sup> He early became disgusted with his life at the court of Roger II. of Sicily, and started with a great retinue on a kind of 'grand tour' of the East. How the Calabrian notary's son could have afforded such a princely train is not explained. The retainers are probably invented to enable Joachim to dismiss them in a fit of humility at Constantinople, and to convert his tour into a humble pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup> It seems certain that he did visit the East, that he spent a long time among the anchorites of Mount Tabor and in Egypt, and that he there found cause to admire the poverty and frugality of the Greek prelates as contrasted with the pomp and luxury of Western dignitaries.

On his return to Calabria no monastic rule could be found strict enough to satisfy the young enthusiast. At first a monk at Sambucina, he was afterwards, greatly against his will, elected abbot of the convent of Corazzo. Again he found the Rule—or the observance of it—too lax for his demands, and with a single companion, a mysterious Ranieri, who is sometimes credited with a share in his works, he betook himself to a wild and desolate spot called Petra Lata, as a hermit. Before long, however, he returned

of the (forged) 'Vaticinia.' The editors of the *Acta* plainly did not trust him, though the Protestant Wolf (*op. cit.* p. 497) did.

<sup>1</sup> There are several versions of this silly story. If it were true it would seem to prove that the parents themselves were deeply tinged with heresy.

<sup>2</sup> The Life in the *Acta* is founded on the narratives of (i) Lucas of Casa-Marii, presently to be noticed; (ii) one Jacobus Graecus (*circ.* 1500); (iii) Gregorius de Laude, or Lauro; said to have been published at Naples in 1660 and, significantly enough, condemned. *Acta*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta*, p. 96. One of his acts of self-denial was to have his hair, which he had dyed yellow (a curious sign of the Germanophil), turned black again.

to civilization, and realized the dream of his life by founding a monastery and a Rule of his own at Fiore. The Order of Florensians never attained to great celebrity or numbers. Three or four houses only are specified as belonging to it,<sup>1</sup> and its ordinances, confirmed by Celestine III. in 1196, seem to be completely lost.

While yet abbot of Corazzo, Joachim had conceived the idea of the works on which his fame rests. These works are professedly expositions of Scripture only, especially the Revelation of St. John ; and probably the writer originally intended to go no further. But the spirit of the age was too strong for him. A world intent upon the Crusades conceived that Armageddon must be near at hand ; and Armageddon implied Antichrist, and all the latter-day woes and final victory of good over evil described in the Apocalypse. It was impossible for a man to make that book a subject of study without applying some of its predictions to his own times, and striving to elicit from others what the outcome of those times was to be. Hence, though in a much-quoted conversation with Adam, abbot of Persigny,<sup>2</sup> who bluntly asked him for his authority as a prophet, Joachim repudiated any supernatural powers, and modestly claimed only a special power of interpretation, he did launch out into speculations of the widest character, and emitted the most distinct predictions as to the future of the Church and of the world. Nay, more than this, his anxiety to gain credit for his teaching ultimately led him to attribute it to supernatural inspiration. His book ‘Of the Concord of the Old and New Testament’<sup>3</sup> begins (and the passage is repeated in the Apocalyptic commentary) with a distinct statement of a ‘revelation’ which came to him on a certain night ‘in that hour in which the Lion of the tribe of Judah

<sup>1</sup> Gebhart (*Italie Mystique*, p. 225) says, ‘ses couvents remplissaient l’Italie méridionale,’ which is absurd.

<sup>2</sup> The original authority for this story seems to be Ralph of Coggeshalle ; cf. Tocco, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Denifle, *Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte*, i. 91, asserts that the passage is wanting in the best MSS. of the *Concordia*. It is printed on fol. 39a of the *Apocalypse*, and also on the page signature a 1 (verso) of the *Concordia*.

is believed to have risen from the dead.' His words are: 'Of the whole fulness of knowledge contained in this book and in that concerning the earlier "Concord of Old and New Testament" a *revelation* was vouchsafed.' And in face of such a declaration it is of little use to assert that Joachim did not claim to be a prophet. That he did so was his title claim to the consideration of his contemporaries.

From first to last he enjoyed during his lifetime the countenance and favour of the Holy See. From Lucius III. he originally obtained permission to undertake his works, and presented to him an unfinished copy of his work *De Concordia*. But, incomplete though it was, the book contained strictures enough on the laxity of the regular Orders to arouse the enmity in particular of the Cistercians;<sup>1</sup> and Joachim had to make his way to Verona in 1185 to ask the countenance of Urban III. Three years later Clement III. again approved, but with the condition that so soon as the work was completed it should instantly be submitted to the examination of the Holy See.

It remains to consider what the doctrines were which received this high approval. For these we must look to three published books only,<sup>2</sup> the *Concordia*, the *Apocalypse*, and the *Psaltery of Ten Strings*, besides one or two brief treatises still in manuscript. But so completely has the teaching in these been obscured by later forgeries that it may safely be said that nine-tenths of the passages usually quoted as representing Joachim's opinions are spurious.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta*, p. 137b.

<sup>2</sup> The editions are: *Concordia*, Ven. 1519; *Apocalypse* and *Psalterium*, Ven. 1527. All are in the Bodleian; only the *Concordia* in the British Museum. Of the spurious works the *Jeremiah* had two editions (Ven. 1516 and 1525) at least, and possibly the *Isaiah* also. All are printed in so abbreviated a form as to be almost illegible. Neander quoted a passage from *Apoc.* 95b, and Reuter, a writer on mediaeval religion, declared he had searched the folio through and could not find it. Denifle (*ALKG*, p. 53) is severe on Reuter for negligence, but if anyone will try the same experiment he will condone the error. Even Tocco occasionally misreads the abbreviations—e.g. 'primo' for 'proximo' (*op. cit.* p. 303, note).

Herbert drew most of his illustrations and all his prejudices from the apocryphal work on Jeremiah;<sup>1</sup> and even Döllinger, though he speaks of the forgeries as such, draws his account of Joachim's doctrines chiefly from them.<sup>2</sup> Still more unfortunate is the fact that hardly any writers (and there are many) on the subject appear to have read the original works at all. Hahn's *Geschichte der Ketzer* contains such copious extracts that, as Denifle roundly asserts, no critic of the nineteenth century ever took the trouble to search further.<sup>3</sup> Against Renan the same writer charges the most scandalous carelessness;<sup>4</sup> and, indeed, it is obvious that neither this critic nor his compatriot Gebhart had more than the most superficial acquaintance with the printed works. Felice Tocco, on the other hand, gives the most minute and complete analysis of the *Concordia* and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. But the result of the constant copying of second or third hand statements is that doctrines are attributed to Joachim which are really the wild exaggerations of his followers of the second generation—that generation which has invariably pushed heresy to its logical and most alarming conclusions.

Stripped of its allegorical follies, to which too much attention has been paid, Joachim's theory of the world's, or rather the Church's, history is coherent, if absurd. There are three states<sup>5</sup> or phases of that history, representing respectively the sway of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, succeeding one another, but overlapping. The first begins with Adam, reaches its middle period of

<sup>1</sup> *British Mag.* xvi. 366 sqq. Herbert confesses that he had never seen the commentary on Daniel, which is really only a tract annexed to the *Isaiah*, with short explanations of other minor prophets. The Antichristus 'mixtus,' or 'mysticus,' of whom he speaks, is an invention of later Joachites.

<sup>2</sup> *Ubi supra.*

<sup>3</sup> *Archiv*, p. 53, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Renan, says Denifle, had simply rewritten an old article from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and did not even trouble to alter the references to MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in spite of the new numbering which had been effected in the interval. Certainly Renan had never seen the commentary on Isaiah.

<sup>5</sup> The 'states' are illustrated by elaborate tables in the text, both of the *Concordia* (fol. 14a) and of the *Apocalypse* (fol. 5a).

'clarescence' or 'fructification' in Abraham (or Moses), and ends with Zacharias. But the second state has by that time begun, in the time of Uzziah<sup>1</sup>—a most arbitrary date. It claresces with Christ, and ends with the forty-second generation after Him, which, at the rate of thirty years to a generation, gives us the year 1260. This is a most satisfactory result, for 1,260 days (three and a half years) is the time during which Elijah was hidden from his persecutors; it is also the period spent in the Wilderness by the 'woman clothed with the sun' of the Revelation; and, finally, it is the exact time during which Judith, who represents the Eastern Church,<sup>2</sup> remained a widow! But this second state is again overlapped by the third, which began with Benedict, and, after clarescing in 1260, is to end at some indefinite period with the final triumph of the Holy Ghost on earth. Within the three states are included also, probably in deference to Augustine, presently to be quoted, five 'times' and also eight 'ages' of the world—a quite unnecessary complication of the system.

With the year 1260, then, is to begin the victory of the Saints. But herein lies the kernel of the whole matter. The saints are to be monks, or rather hermits. The 'laici,' or 'conjugati,' of the first state—the 'clericci'<sup>3</sup> of the second—are to be superseded.<sup>4</sup> The 'contemplantes'—the monks,

<sup>1</sup> Herbert strangely confuses 'Uzziah' with 'Josiah,' and derides Joachim for his ignorance in saying that Josiah usurped the priestly office.

<sup>2</sup> *Concordia*, fol. 117b.

<sup>3</sup> For these 'clericci' no language is too strong. *Apoc.* fol. 119a: 'Ubi lites, ubi scandala, ubi rixe, ubi invidie, ubi emulationes? nonne in ecclesia clericorum?' And this is one passage out of many to be found in all the three genuine books.

<sup>4</sup> Not destroyed, as Herbert says, taking his statement from Telesphorus of Cosenza, a Joachite of the end of the fourteenth century, who wrote a book entitled *Liber de magnis tribulationibus . . . collectis ex vaticiniis novorum prophetarum, sc. Beati Cyrilli, Abbatis Joachim, Dandali et Merlini, etc.* (Ven. 1516), edited by Brother Rusticianus. Telesphorus was a furious Papalist, and prophesied the coming of a third Frederick about 1409, who was to overthrow the Roman Church and murder the clergy, but was in his turn to be overthrown by Charles, King of France (fol. 51). Joachim himself had no Gallophilic illusions.

Denifle (p. 56) quotes from the unpublished tract *Contra Judaeos* to

In short—and the Pope are to have the Church to themselves, and that Church (and, indeed, human society at large) is to be one of strict cenobitic or anchoritic life. How a celibate church is to be propagated—how to perpetuate itself—does not appear ; the prophet does not feel himself called upon to explain that, but he looks forward to something like an immediate Vision of the Eternal to be granted to the saints while yet on earth, and various expressions would certainly seem to imply the cessation of the Sacraments<sup>1</sup> as outward ordinances. Above all—and here again the Montanist shews clearly—absolute asceticism, absolute poverty,<sup>2</sup> is to be the characteristic of this perfect state.

To the contemporaries of the prophet all this seemed divine in its originality and in the precision of its predictions. Yet there was little in it that was new, except the downright heresy involved in the separate government of the three periods by the three Persons of the Trinity ; and even this had been anticipated by the Montanist Tertullian.<sup>3</sup> But no less a teacher than St. Augustine himself had distinguished seven epochs in the history of the world,<sup>4</sup> placing himself in true prophetic fashion in the last but one, and had even hinted at the coming victory of the contemplative over the practical<sup>5</sup> life, which formed so alluring a feature in shew that the ‘clericī’ are to exist after the coming of the ‘spiritualis,’ as did the ‘laici’ after the coming of the ‘clericī.’

<sup>1</sup> *Concordia*, fol. 102b. ‘Sicut enim evacuata est observatio agni paschalis in observatione corporis Christi, ita in clarificatione Spiritus Sancti cessabit observatio figure, ut non sequantur ultra homines figurā sicut ipsam semplicissimam veritatem que significatur in igne, dicente domino, Spiritus est Deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare.’

<sup>2</sup> *Apoc.* fol. 183a. ‘Qui ergo vere monachus est nihil reputat esse suum nisi citharam.’ The musical side of worship is very prominent in Joachim, as in Salimbene.

<sup>3</sup> *De virg. vel. cap. i.* ‘Justitia primo fuit in rudimentis, natura Deum metuens. Dehinc per legem et prophetas promovit in infantiam. Dehinc per evangelium effebuit in juventutem : nunc per Paracletum componitur in maturitatem.

<sup>4</sup> *De civ. Dei*, xxii. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *In Joan. Evang. Tract.* 124, c. 5 : ‘una [ecclesia] in opere actionis, altera in mercede contemplationis’—‘altera’ being the triumphant Church.

Joachim's system for the pietists of the next generation. But of any perfected state of the Church on earth he says no single word. The last epoch is that of the Church triumphant, but triumphant in another world. Scotus Erigena had vaguely indicated some such development, but his system, though more logical than that of Joachim, was less complete.

The great step forward—the preaching of a possible glorification of the Church below—was taken by Amaury of Chartres, nearly a contemporary of Joachim, and so closely resembling him in some points of belief that the connexion between them is by some writers<sup>1</sup> taken for granted. It has never been proved. ‘The power of the Father,’ said Amaury, ‘lasted as long as the Mosaic law; but with the coming of Christ the old Sacraments were abolished, and the new law remains in force until to-day; henceforward the Sacraments of the New Testament have in their turn exhausted their efficacy, and the era of the Holy Ghost has commenced.’ The Father was incarnate in Abraham, the Son in Moses, and the Holy Ghost is incarnate every day in every Christian. The Son has been the active agent up till now; from now onward the Spirit begins to work, and His work will continue until the world shall end.

This, of course, was Tritheism; yet no whit worse than Joachim's. Amaury was condemned and his bones burned; Joachim was all but canonized. For in the midst of his prophecies of the ruin of the hierarchy the Calabrian prophet had inserted one saving clause: the Papacy was to remain as part of the perfect Church—a proposition which shews either the great cunning or the great simplicity of its author. Inasmuch, however, as the Church was to be entirely composed of the contemplative element, Joachim was driven to the expedient of a contemplative Pope, an idea so repugnant to the plain facts of the twelfth century that his followers found it necessary to make the future pontiff an

<sup>1</sup> E.g. by Tocco. Amaury was condemned as ‘insanus’ by the same canon of the Fourth Council of Lateran which censured Joachim. Labbe, *Concilia*, xi. i. col. 145.

angel, or at least of the ‘angelic order.’<sup>1</sup> Joachim himself, like many honest men of his time, condemned most heartily the acts of individual Popes, while reverencing the Holy See; <sup>2</sup> even Gregory VII. he regards as an example of miserable failure.<sup>3</sup> Yet though the Papacy is his idol, the hierarchy is to him the very negation of asceticism, deriving its origin from Uzziah, ‘who burned incense<sup>4</sup> to the Lord but not with impunity,’ and representing the very antithesis of the doctrine of the Sermon on the Mount. It must perish in its corporate capacity, though not in its members; and yet the very centre and kernel of it is to remain. That the abolition of the seculars and the reign of the ‘contemplantes’ would leave the Church without teachers was a detail which the prophet could afford to disregard; but no good Guelph could do without his Pope even in a vision of the perfected bliss of the Holy Ghost’s reign on earth.

On the other hand, no Eschatology was complete without its Antichrist. Ghibellines of the time found theirs in the Papacy, as did Luther and Calvin long afterwards. It behoved the Guelphic prophet to devise one of his own; and quite naturally he found it in the Empire. To Anti-christ’s rule he assigns the three and a half years immediately preceding 1260, which date he arrives at (to pass over a variety of collateral calculations) by the simple process of reading years for days in the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse. Then is to end the prophecy of the two witnesses, who in Joachim’s system are the clerics and the

<sup>1</sup> Joachim himself knows nothing of any ‘Papa angelicus.’ He is first found in the forged *Jeremiah*, fol. 285. Döllinger (p. 386) traces the idea of the angelic Pope back to the poems attributed to Tertullian (*Carmina contra Marcionem*, lib. iii. sub finem), where an epithet really appropriate to Hermas, the Pope’s brother, was applied by ignorant expositors to the Pope himself as ‘Angelicus Pastor.’ Telesphorus (fol. 25a) is the first to ascribe the idea to Joachim, quoting an apocryphal book, *Liber de Flore*. Telesphorus himself invents four angelic Popes.

<sup>2</sup> Döllinger quotes numerous prophecies directed against Rome as Babylon, but not against the Popes personally.

<sup>3</sup> He compares him to Jehoahaz. *Concord.* foll. 52a, 52b.

<sup>4</sup> *Concord.* fol. 8b. His spelling of Ozias as Osias no doubt misled Herbert,

monks. It is to be noted that this date of 1260 had been already rendered familiar by the widely known predictions of Hildegarde of Bingen,<sup>1</sup> and it corresponded also fairly well with the end of the 'forty-two generations' which were also a counter for such folk to juggle with. The last two generations or sixty years of this period were to be a time of tribulation culminating in the three and a half years of the reign of Daniel's eleventh king.<sup>2</sup> There Joachim stops; his indications practically conclude with the hint that Rome is the spiritual Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> leaving it to be inferred that the Empire is Babylon. But further the prophet declined to particularize,<sup>4</sup> and so vague were his statements that some of his followers interpreted him to mean by Antichrist little more than the spirit of persecution which has always assailed the Church. Whatever he may have wished to say, the Empire was much too near and too powerful in the Two Sicilies to encourage loose talk about Antichrist as connected with it.

In his conversation Joachim is said to have been less circumspect. Sicily had become a half-way house for Crusading princes, and among them came Richard of England on his way to the Holy Land. So great had the fame of the Calabrian abbot already become that the king must needs see and talk with him. Joachim had strange news to tell. 'Antichrist,' he said, 'was already born—was, indeed, fifteen years old.' 'Where is he?' said Richard. 'At Rome,' replied the prophet, 'and he is to possess the Apostolic See.' 'Then,' quoth Richard Yea-and-Nay, 'it

<sup>1</sup> For the marvellously correct anticipations of Hildegarde, cf. Döllinger, p. 308. She foretold the establishment of national Churches throughout Europe, to the damage of the Papacy, and the breaking up of the Empire into smaller states. Brigitta, at a later date (Döllinger, p. 343), actually prophesied the present restriction of the Pope's rule to the Vatican quarter of Rome.

<sup>2</sup> *Apoc.* foll. 9<sup>b</sup>, 143<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Apoc.* fol. 24<sup>a</sup>. 'Romana ecclesia est spiritalis Hierusalem.' Cf. also *Apoc.* fol. 7<sup>b</sup>. 'In regno Graecorum continentur Samaria et Aegyptus et in regno Latinorum Hierusalem et Babylon.'

<sup>4</sup> Yet in *Apoc.* foll. 130<sup>b</sup> and 133<sup>a</sup> he does say distinctly that Antichrist is to be a Patarene.

must be Clement himself!' No answer<sup>1</sup> of Joachim is recorded; but by 'Rome' he would no doubt have explained that he meant the Holy Roman Empire. In other respects his prophecies as to the Crusades were sadly at fault, for he foretold the death of Saladin by the hand of Richard. Certainly he had previously predicted the capture of Jerusalem by the unbelievers, which really happened; but this, like his prophecies that the son of the Empress Constance would be a foe to the Church, and that the Norman line in Sicily would end with Tancred, simply represents the forecast of any clear-headed man of the times. It was thus that Thomas Aquinas judged him when he described his prophecies as 'sometimes right by the light of nature and sometimes wrong.'<sup>2</sup>

With Henry VI. of Suabia Joachim certainly contrived to acquire considerable credit. Indeed he is said to have so worked upon the Emperor by his eloquence as to induce him to desist from his ravages in the Two Sicilies, and even to endow the house of Fiore with fifty gold bezants yearly. To the Empress Constance he behaved with true eremitic churlishness, refusing to hear her confession unless she sat at his feet like a penitent Magdalene. But the whole story of his relations with the Emperor is rendered doubtful by the additional statement that it was at the request of that prince that he wrote the *Exposition of Jeremiah*. Now Joachim never wrote the *Exposition of Jeremiah* at all. It is self-condemned by the date 1197, which it professes to bear (for that is the date of the Emperor's alleged request); and it is, as Renan points out, simply incredible that a man who took half a lifetime to write three books should in a few months produce one equal in length to the longest of the three, and, we may add, write half a dozen more in the next five years—*i.e.* before his death in 1202.

<sup>1</sup> The conversation is most fully given in the chronicle of (? Benedict) of Peterborough, 2, p. 152 (Rolls ed.). Roger of Hoveden abbreviates it.

<sup>2</sup> In Lib. IV. Sent. dist. 43, qu. 1, art. 3: 'Joachim qui per tales conjecturas de futuris aliqua vera praedixit et in aliquibus deceptus fuit.' There is in this possibly some trace of the schoolman's hatred of the mystic.

And no sooner was Joachim dead than the forgeries in his name began. He had neither gone far enough nor made his predictions exact enough for his followers. Their definite prophecies naturally eclipsed his more cautious and undated vaticinations in popular favour, and the result was that during the first half of the thirteenth century Joachim's genuine writings—themselves temporarily discredited, owing to causes presently to be mentioned—were completely replaced in the general estimation by a series of barefaced forgeries. Such a performance is hardly to be matched in the history of literature. For fifty years the real writings of a real author lay hid in convent cellars, while all the time books of which he had never dreamt usurped his name and were universally supposed to contain his true doctrine. That Joachite of Joachites, Fra Salimbene, knew little of any book of Joachim apparently except the *Exposition of Jeremiah*,<sup>1</sup> in which the prophet had neither art nor part, and an equally apocryphal work, *De Figuris*, while the most famous of his prophecies—that concerning the barefooted friars—is to be found only in a book never heard of till those same barefooted friars had made themselves notorious in all the civilized world.<sup>2</sup>

This one passage, indeed, is sufficient to condemn the whole series of forgeries. It occurs, not in the actual book on *Esaias* (which Renan, by the way, had never seen),<sup>3</sup> but in a kind of tractate introductory to it, and printed separately in the one edition which exists. There it runs as follows : 'In this duchy<sup>4</sup> (that of Spoleto, in which Assisi

<sup>1</sup> His quotation of the *Concordia* occurs in a suspected passage (*Chronicon*, p. 85), and is, moreover, totally inaccurate. He seems (p. 325) once to have possessed the *Expositio in Apocalypsim*.

<sup>2</sup> Tocco (p. 313) tries to prove that even the *Jeremiah* is later than the time of Salimbene. Döllinger (p. 328) puts the *Isaiah* as late as 1266; but even this is too early for Tocco, who, in fol. 6b of the book, discovers in the words 'cavendum est a Germanis et Francis' a sign that the Angevin influence in Italy was waning.

<sup>3</sup> Tocco, p. 304, note 1. Renan relied altogether too much upon the Parisian MSS., to the exclusion of all other material, both printed and unprinted.

<sup>4</sup> The page is unnumbered. Tocco cites it as fol. 11b. A similar prophecy after the event is found in the note on the 'Narbonensis

was then situate), and at the same time in the land of Spain, two orders shall arise like shining stars, to preach the kingdom of the Gospel, girded with sackcloth ; against whom that serpent the devil shall bring a beast that ariseth out of the earth.' 'Undoubtedly,' adds the editor, 'the sect of the Patarenes.' And a little further on these two 'orders' are described as 'mendicants,' and 'to be girded with a rope.' 'Quid clarius ?' ask the Bollandists ;<sup>1</sup> and, indeed, nothing can be clearer—unfortunately. Yet the *Isaiah* and the *Jeremiah* are the very books from which Protestant writers have drawn their specimens of Joachim's dicta.<sup>2</sup> Even modern semi-critics like Neander have fastened with delight upon vituperative passages of these spurious writings, as proving the real Protestantism of the most determined Papalist of his day.<sup>3</sup> It is possible, indeed, to find in the genuine works denunciations of the 'ecclesia.' Yet that 'ecclesia' is by no means the Papacy, but the bloated hierarchy which the hermit of Calabria contemned. A saner criticism has rejected as spurious all the longer works passing under Joachim's name, and has confined its attention mainly to the three which he himself<sup>4</sup> enumerates—the *Concordia Veteris ac Novi Testamenti*, the *Psalterium Decem Chordarum*, and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Still it is probably on the strength of the spurious writings that Joachim secured a place of renown in the *Paradiso* of Dante.

*Provincia*, where his crusade against the Albigenses is clearly foretold. 'Timeo ne ad eorum infamiam dissolvendam vexillum crucis evidens elevetur.'

<sup>1</sup> *Acta SS.* p. 141 b.

<sup>2</sup> Wolf, *op. cit.*, quotes also Illyricus (p. 501) as saying of Joachim 'A Lutherò propria quadam disputatione defenditur.' No such work of Luther's is known.

<sup>3</sup> Neander, vii. 310 *sqq.* Dr. Rashdall (*Universities*, ii. 739) seems also to confuse the genuine and spurious books when he speaks of 'the barefooted order which was ere long to supersede Popes, prelates, and secular clergy.'

<sup>4</sup> In the declaration prefixed to the *Concordia* and the *Apocalypse*. A minor treatise, *Contra Judaeos*, is also mentioned ; it exists in MS., and was read by Denifle (*Archiv*, p. 56).

Whence, then, emanated these deliberate and purposeful forgeries, which contain (it cannot be denied) the most scathing denunciations of the Holy See and of its occupants? The answer is simple and certain. They were a manifesto of the 'Spirituals' among the Franciscan friars. It is true that the Order itself originated some years after Joachim's death. Nevertheless, the mass of the reputed works of Joachim are Franciscan forgeries. The saint of Assisi had indeed founded an Order doomed to division from its very inception. On the one hand, there were among his followers those who, keeping closely to his rule of strict poverty, had attached to it its logical concomitants of abstinence and squalor. On the other side there were those, even among the actual associates of St. Francis, who took the saint's life rather than his precepts as their model, and imitated rather the genial and sympathetic guide and companion than the self-tormenting ascetic. For Francis had shewn marvellous indulgence towards human weakness. He had forbidden the keeping of the customary Friday fast if Christmas fell on that day of the week. He is said once to have compelled a young friar who was killing himself with fasting to get up in the middle of the night and partake of a hearty supper, and all the brethren with him. Nay, the very motto of his earliest rule is stated to have been 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.'<sup>1</sup> Those who followed this side of his teaching quickly became distinguished as the 'conventuals.' They dwelt together in fine houses, fared satisfactorily if simply, and practised mendicancy rather as a form than as a necessity. The first General of the Order, Brother Elias,<sup>2</sup> was of this way of thinking, and men of his stamp—diplomatists and organizers—were plainly of more service to the Papacy than the unworldly and rather uncouth 'spirituals,' as they were called, with their obtrusive alms-bowls and their want of manners.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Conformatum*, ed. 1590, quoted by Gebhart, *Italie Mystique*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> The abuse of Elias by Salimbene in the (?) fragment printed at the end of the *Chronicle* is the more remarkable because the friar himself appears to us now as the very ideal of a 'conventional.'

Hence these latter soon found themselves coldly regarded by the Holy See, and after a time actually persecuted. The more violent among them did not hesitate, under cover of Joachim's name, to attack that See itself, and their vituperations have long passed current as those of the Calabrian abbot.

In the latter's real writings, with their glorification of hermit life and predictions of the final victory of the 'contemplantes,' the 'spirituals' found an armoury of argument; and what was wanting it was quite in accordance with the views of the time to supply by forgery. Already within a few years after Joachim's death there had begun to cluster round the name of the dead prophet the usual congeries of lying wonders. One 'blockhead,' as Herbert describes him, who figures as his biographer, Lucas of Casa-Marii, tells us that the abbot not only cured him of stammering, but also of hunger and thirst.<sup>1</sup> He reminds us of Salimbene's incorrigible snorer, who was miraculously cured by having his nose pulled behind the altar during the celebration of Mass; and it does not increase our respect for the Italian episcopate to find that the 'blockhead' afterwards became Archbishop of Cosenza. But it was not merely miracles of healing<sup>2</sup> that were ascribed to Joachim; his indefinite predictions were supplemented by the most distinct and thoroughly fulfilled prophecies. Thus it is said that in the archives of Fiore there was discovered a correspondence between the abbot and Tancred of Sicily, in which the King threatened in return for Joachim's support of Henry VI. to destroy all the houses of his Florensian order.<sup>3</sup> The prophet retorts in language befitting a Jeremiah by foretelling the destruction of Tancred's house, and adds an exact—too exact—prophecy of the mutilation of the King's son, which in all probability never took place, though popular belief affirmed it. Of a piece with this, too, is the

<sup>1</sup> *Acta SS.* p. 94 b.

<sup>2</sup> For such, cf. Jacobus Graecus in the *Acta*, pp. 112, 113, 121. He healed a donkey, and cured Lucas of fever with cabbages. Even scrapings from his tomb wrought miracles.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta*, p. 135, quoted from Gregorius de Laude, cap. 32.

episode of Cyril, third General of the Carmelites, who was visited by an angel at the altar and presented with two silver tablets containing prophecies. The tablets were to be melted down—a very reasonable precaution—and turned into a chalice and paten. The transcript of the prophecies was said to have been sent to Joachim for interpretation, and fragments of his supposed commentary on them are preserved by the belated Joachite, Telesphorus of Cosenza.

The propagation of all these forgeries<sup>1</sup> was rendered easier by the practical disappearance from circulation of all Joachim's genuine works, which came about as follows. For no apparent reason except the mystic's natural hatred of scholasticism, he, a mere sciolist in theology at best, had attacked the great Master of the Sentences<sup>2</sup> himself. The latter had spoken of the Trinity as 'una quaedam summa res,' and had also used the term 'communis essentia' as attaching to the whole three Persons. This, said Joachim, was flat Quadrithism; for thus there are three Persons and a 'communis essentia,' which makes a fourth. From the maze of nonsense which logically followed upon such reasoning Joachim only escaped by writing himself down plain heretic. The Trinity was to him like the three sides of a lyre or psaltery;<sup>3</sup> and yet he actually appealed to St. John xvii. 2 ('that they may be one as we are') to prove that the union of the Persons of the Trinity was like that of our Lord's disciples—a merely collective one. This, coupled with his division of the three states of the world as successively presided over by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost

<sup>1</sup> The most glaringly absurd of all is the series of prophecies as to individual Popes, with enigmatic mottoes and fantastic pictures, which was circulated under the name of Joachim and of a fictitious bishop Anselm of Marsica. The predictions are accurate enough from Nicolas III. to Clement V. (1277–1314), after which they become absurd, and thus fix their own date early in the fourteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Renan supposed that the attack was to be found in a work *De articulis fidei*, which has, however, now been found in MS., and does not contain the statement. The Canon of the Lateran Council specifies the exact texts used by Joachim in his heretical statements, but they do not occur in the known works.

<sup>3</sup> Tocco (pp. 229–231) gives quotations enough to justify the condemnation even from the *Psalterium* alone.

separately—the Father being terrific, the Son wise, and the Holy Ghost charitable—would assuredly have exposed a less ardent defender of the Papacy to the condemnation meted out to Amaury of Chartres. All that actually happened was the technical condemnation of a few particular propositions by the Council of Lateran in 1215, thirteen years after the prophet's death. But this was sufficient. The three great books practically disappeared. Salimbene, in one of his priceless excursions, tells us how an old abbot of the Calabrian Order brought copies of Joachim's writings and deposited them for safety at the Minorite convent at Pisa. The Council of Arles, in 1263, could say of them, 'From the days of our ancestors to our own these writings remained untouched, lying concealed in the hands of certain religious, and by our<sup>1</sup> doctors altogether neglected.' And this seems to have been literally true. Yet the Popes had throughout dealt with the prophet with singular leniency. His very outspoken pronouncements as to the different degrees of credibility of the different Gospels,<sup>2</sup> savouring strongly of the audacities of modern criticism, attracted no censure; and within a year or two after the Council of Lateran we find Honorius III. declaring Joachim a good Catholic, as against the persistent misrepresentations of the Cistercians,<sup>3</sup> who in revenge for his desertion exploited the condemnation of the abbot's Trinitarian doctrines to the utmost.

Nevertheless, the forbearance of the Papacy, unusual towards a champion even partly discredited, is striking, and affords a shadowy foundation for the fantastic theory of Algernon Herbert, that Joachim was an arch-impostor leagued with the Guelph party in a far-reaching scheme to be rid of the secular clergy altogether, and to appropriate the government of the Church to the Pope and the

<sup>1</sup> The reading of 'nostris' for 'antris' is Denifle's. Gebhart quotes from Tocco and Tocco from Reuter (the usual course in things Joachitic) a statement that William of Auvergne refers to the genuine works.

<sup>2</sup> *Apoc.* fol 3a. 'Marcus et Lucas non apostoli sunt, et audita potius quam visa describunt,' etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta SS.* p. 137*b*.

regular Orders. Now it is quite true that in the genuine works the Pope and the regular Orders are above criticism, and that all the attacks on the Church are directed against the seculars only. It is also true that in these latter the Holy See found the main obstacle to its autocratic ideas. They were apt to be too national, to be either obstreperously independent altogether, or at best to be patriots first and Romanists afterwards. The regulars, on the contrary, were subservient, and could be relied upon for support in whatever country they dwelt. They had no ties of family with their neighbours ; indeed, were often opposed to them in interest. And the Pope and the convent were the two sole objects of their allegiance. Salimbene, genial chattering as he is, yet presents us with a striking example of the detachment of the conventuals from all interests except that of 'the Order' ; and the apathy with which the harsh treatment of the regulars in France has been lately regarded by the nation is sufficient proof of their estrangement from the country of their domicile. On the other hand, the project referred to was surely visionary if it ever existed : the richly endowed hierarchy of Europe, resting on a parochial system universal in extent and of antiquity almost immemorial, would have opposed an insurmountable barrier to such plans. But it is undeniable that there was intimate and close communication between the prophet of the regulars and the Popes, and that he narrowly missed canonization. A strongly supported petition<sup>1</sup> to that end was presented in 1346, and the preliminary inquiry which generally preceded the sanction was certainly authorized, and as certainly dropped without the slightest apparent reason. Joachim's detractors suggest that from the documents at their disposal the commissioners found that he was anything but a saint. In his native country, nevertheless, he was, until the last few years at all events, regarded as such, and as a worker of miracles to boot.

Mysterious as is the disappearance for half a century of the abbot's acknowledged works, still more strange is the

<sup>1</sup> Given in *Acta SS.* p. 111 b. The first signatory, Peter de Spina, royal judge of Casal, signs with a cross—'scribere nesciens.'

total evanishment from the earth of a book which is more than any other connected with his name, and which, if contemporaries are to be believed, was for a brief period circulated in hundreds, if not thousands, of copies. For all that remains to us of it, the *Evangelium Eternum*, the 'Evangile Pardurable of the Romance of the Rose,' might have been as unreal a production as the famous 'Three Impostors.' Painfully piecing together scattered notices, and forming theories not always compatible, scholars have arrived at the conclusion that this was in fact an edition, either in whole or in part, of the practically suppressed *Concordia*, *Psalterium*, and *Apocalypse*. This result Renan, Tocco, and Denifle attained to independently, and though they differ in minor points, in the main they agree that the book was a production of the 'spiritual' party among the Franciscans; that it consisted of one at least of the above books of Joachim with notes or rather glosses, and an elaborate 'Introductorius' which was itself a work of some extent; that it was condemned by a Papal Commission, and that it disappeared absolutely and completely from circulation, the only relics of it being embedded in the 'compte rendu' of the Commission in question. The object of its publication is also clear, however much the expectations of the publishers may have been, as they certainly were, disappointed. For it appeared in the very crisis of the struggle between the University of Paris and the mendicant Orders, and was certainly intended to support the cause of the latter. Quite as certainly it inflicted on that cause lasting damage and discredit.

It was in the year 1254, says the *Roman de la Rose*, that there appeared at Paris this 'livre de par le grant diable' which captivated the attention of all:

A Paris n'eut home ne feme  
Au parvis devant Nostre Dame  
Qui lors avoir ne le péust  
A transcrire s'il li pleust.

But as soon as the University armed to combat the monster, 'Cil qui là le livre mirent Saillirent sus et le re-

prirent' This is probably true; the editors were soon aware of their error. The University, with William of St. Amour at its head, fell furiously upon the work, and sent to the Pope a list of propositions nominally extracted from it<sup>1</sup> but so garbled and exaggerated that Alexander IV. was disgusted, and probably dealt more tenderly with the book for that reason. Still he appointed a Commission composed of ecclesiastics of high reputation, who sat at Anagni, and there, with Florentius, bishop of Acre for accuser, investigated the charges. It is on the records of this Commission that our knowledge of the contents of the book depends, and it seems certain that they did not condemn the text or even the 'Introductorius' so much as the glosses. Those glosses were undoubtedly the work of an obscure Franciscan, little more than a lad, named Gherardo or Gherardino, of San Donnino;<sup>2</sup> but Tocco argues that the omission of the 'Introduction' from the censure implies that it was the work of a greater man, and he thinks that John of Parma, General of the Franciscans, to whom tradition has constantly ascribed the publication of the 'Eternal Gospel,' was really the author of the preliminary book.

It is from these glosses of the irresponsible Gherardino, whom his friend Salimbene roundly charges with falsifying the doctrines of Joachim, that the collection of Joachite errors given in Matthew Paris<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere is drawn; and they are certainly serious enough. They are as follows:

- (i.) The teaching of the 'Eternal Gospel' excels that both of the Old and New Testaments;
- (ii.) the Gospel of Christ

<sup>1</sup> Denifle (p. 84) seems to prove conclusively that it was the University teachers who made the alleged extracts.

<sup>2</sup> The Protocol of Anagni is published in full by Denifle, *Archiv* (i.), pp. 99 sqq. It certainly mentions the *Introductorius*, quotes from it by its chapters, and gives Gherardo as the author (p. 101, *fin.*). Furthermore, it quotes a great number of passages which are plainly from the *Concordia*, as glossed or explained by someone, and a few also from the *Psalterium* and *Apocalypse*. On the whole, Denifle seems to confute Tocco (p. 473), but he has to allow that the first 'error' as given by Matthew Paris was in the *Introductorius*, and yet is not mentioned by the cardinals at Anagni at all.

<sup>3</sup> Add. p. 335 (Rolls edition).

is not 'the Gospel of the Kingdom'; (iii.) the doctrine of the New Testament is to be 'evacuated' as that of the Old has been; it is to last only till (iv.) the year 1260, after which time no one (v.) will be bound to receive it, and (vi.) it will be succeeded by another Gospel. Lastly is added what appears, not in the records of Anagni but in 'the *'Directorium of Eymeric'*' (itself a questionable authority), the audacious statement that none are fit to teach things spiritual 'nisi qui incedunt pedibus nudis.' This was matter enough for the Inquisitors of Anagni; and in one case only, apparently, do they quote verbatim the original works of Joachim, and that in respect of the proposition<sup>1</sup> that the third state is superior to the second, and consequently the 'monachi' superior to the 'cleric.' The condemnation of the 'Eternal Gospel' was, however, complete. It was burned at Paris, though within the walls of the Dominican convent, and Gherardino was punished for the authorship, albeit leniently. His subsequent death in prison was owing to his repeated refusals to recant as a condition of being set at liberty. William of St. Amour, on the other hand, was censured and condemned for incautious expressions employed in his invectives against the mendicants.

The book disappeared. Not long afterwards Salimbene<sup>2</sup> heard of a single copy, which at his suggestion was destroyed as a dangerous possession by his friend Arnulph of Imola. But it is impossible not to connect with the authorship, real or reputed, of the 'Introduction' the deposition of John of Parma, whose degradation by Bonaventura furnished one ardent 'spiritual' with matter for a vision,<sup>3</sup> in which he beheld the great schoolman attacking the unhappy General with claws and beak, which were happily pared off by the angelic phantom of Francis of Assisi. And this was but the beginning of an intermittent persecution of the Spirituals by the Papacy, leading in some

<sup>1</sup> Tocco, p. 470 n., but cf. also p. 468, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> P. 235b. He does not say that it was the *Eternal Gospel*, but seems to imply it. It was plainly a dangerous subject.

<sup>3</sup> Jacopo da Massa. Tocco, pp. 479-80.

cases even to their death at the stake, and culminating in something like open warfare between them and John XXII., in the course of which William of Ockham was condemned and the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, their protector, was excommunicated. Such disputes, however, belong to a later period of the Church's history.

Of the errors of the 'Eternal Gospel' Joachim was, in the letter, innocent, although he had unwittingly furnished the text for the sermon. Of a book so named he had certainly said no word. The meaning of the term was to him simply the 'spiritual understanding'<sup>1</sup> of the existing Scriptures, and this he went so far as to say was not entrusted to the Pope. It was to be preached by a 'spiritual order,' which was by its means to convert heathen and Jews, and, indeed, almost the whole world. For the ascetic excesses of the Fraticelli and others Joachim, or rather his followers, cannot be held blameless; they were a sequel of the Montanist idea which underlay the whole of his system. But the worst result was certainly discoverable in the extravagances of Segarello and Dolcino. It has been remarked above that it is always the second generation that carries out a teacher's ideas to their logical end; and this was precisely the case with Joachism. With the expiration of the fated period of 1,260 years—nay, even before this, at the death of Frederick II., the supposed Antichrist, in 1250—many of the seer's more respectable adherents had ceased to believe in his prophecies, though possibly not in his principles. Salimbene was among such; and as he at least had no ascetic tendencies, the failure of the prophecies overthrew his belief in the prophet altogether. But less reputable partisans exploited Joachim's unlucky insistence on the text 'ubi spiritus ibi libertas,' and made it the excuse for licentious and sanguinary excesses.

Three years after 1260,<sup>2</sup> which was to have witnessed the inception of Joachim's ideal Church, a Council held at

<sup>1</sup> *Psalt.* fol. 259b. *Apoc.* fol. 95b. *Concord.* foll. 85a, 60a, 112b.

<sup>2</sup> The Council is dated 1260 in all the editions of the *Concilia*, but Denifle proves that Florentius did not then hold the See of Arles. Cf. Gams, *Series Episcoporum (Arelate)*.

Arles under the presidency of his old enemy the Bishop of Acre, now of Arles, condemned in the strongest language his whole system ; and in that same year also appeared that scandal of the sect, the shameless Segarello of Parma, half-madman and half-profligate, and his following of ‘Apostolicals.’ To him succeeded the murderous Dolcino, who professed the modified form of Joachism required by the times, recognizing in Frederick of Sicily the new deliverer who was to destroy Pope, cardinals, and clergy (monks included), and to set up the ‘angelic Pope,’ who was possibly to be Dolcino himself. After a sanguinary struggle among the mountains of Piedmont, the fanatic’s followers were dispersed in 1307. But the hopes of the Joachists continued to centre on the King of Sicily, or some prince of that name who was yet to succeed to the empire.

It was indeed only a modified form of the prophet’s doctrines that could now command support, and such a modified system was promulgated by John Peter<sup>1</sup> of Olivi (the name is variously given). This remarkable man passed well-nigh the whole of his short life (1247–1297) in a state of condemnation, being censured at one time for extravagant laudation of the Virgin Mary, at another for too great devotion to the ‘Rule’ of St. Francis. The Popes had evaded the Rule by giving leave to the mendicants to buy and sell property through agents, and their possessions, although extensive, were by a pretty fiction considered the property of the Holy See, they having the usufruct only. This was convenient, but the intransigents, with Peter John at their head, invented the new principle of ‘pauper usus.’ They might possess, but might not enjoy ; they were to ‘use their wealth poorly’—were, in short, to live the life of beggars in the midst of luxury, the very sublimation of the ascetic principle. The ‘Rule’ itself was elevated into a divine statute which even the Pope might not tamper with.

It was this exaltation of the Montanist side of Joachim’s

<sup>1</sup> Both Tocco (lib. 2, c. 5) and Herbert devote considerable space to this remarkable man and his doctrines.

doctrine, and not his new presentation of the theory of states or his new identification of Antichrist, that procured for Peter John multitudes of disciples whom he influenced. He was the veritable prophet of the Beghards of the south of France, where Salimbene's friend, Hugh of Digne, had for many years kept alive the Joachite faith. Of these harmless sectaries, who were condemned in scores by the Inquisition between 1317 and 1323, numbers confessed to Joachism pure and simple as expounded in Peter John's Postills on the Apocalypse. Of Joachim himself they had never heard. But they were but part of the vast army of self-tormentors. '*Béguins et béguines*,' says Renan, '*fratrielles, frérots, bizoques, barbozati, frères pyes, frères agaches, frères aux sacs, frères de la pauvre vie, flagellants, lollards, apostoliques*,' the motley multitude all but overwhelmed the Papal throne when its occupant was the half-witted hermit Celestine V., but were put down with a strong hand by his successor Boniface. Yet there were some among them of whom it might truly be said that they were of the class whom the Church sometimes canonized and sometimes slew in torment. But the name of their prophet was all but forgotten. The fancies of Telesphorus of Cosenza revived the memory of it for a while, and, as we have seen, Protestant theologians dragged it to light for their own special purposes. The reputation henceforward attaching to it was rather of a Nostradamus than of a Tertullian.

Of the many writers who have treated of Joachim, whether as heretic, prophet, or conspirator, none has ever recognized the harmonious union of principle which underlies the two apparently distinct parts of his system—the firm belief in the perpetual and increasing influence of the Holy Ghost culminating in His victory on earth, and joined with this the doctrine of the manifestation of that influence in spiritual powers—especially of preaching—and as a corollary the necessity of asceticism both as a proof of the Spirit's sway and a preparation for His coming. Yet the same combination had been preached word for word by Montanus and Tertullian, and they, too, had failed. Even

Renan, acute as he generally is in detecting the underlying principle of a movement, though he declares that such was the vigour of Joachism that had it not been opposed by all the disciplined and reflective powers of the thirteenth century it would have revolutionized the Church, never recognizes that it was Montanism returned, and that its failure was due to the same causes as that of its prototype. But apart from the strange extravagances which became associated with the development of both in doctrine and practice, a thousand times more was the system doomed to disaster which endeavoured to force upon the altogether worldly hierarchy of the twelfth century the primitive poverty and the primitive exaltation of the earliest days of Christ's preaching on earth.

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### ART. III.—THE REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK: A PLAIN MAN'S VIEW.

1. *The First Prayer Book . . . of King Edward VI.* (Oxford and London : Parker, 1877).
2. *The Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI.* (Parker Society, 1887.)
3. *Facsimile of the Original Manuscript of the Book of Common Prayer signed by Convocation, December 20th, 1661, and attached to the Act of Uniformity, 1662 (13 & 14 Charles 2, cap. 4).* (1891.)
4. *The Revised American Prayer Book* (1892).
5. *The Convocation Prayer Book.* Being the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England. With altered Rubrics, showing what would be the condition of the Book if amended in Conformity with the Recommendations of the Convocations of Canterbury and York contained in Reports presented to Her Majesty the Queen in the year 1879. (London : John Murray, 1907.)

THE reticence of the plain man upon all questions touching religion is one of his best-known and most engaging charac-

teristics ; and if for once he breaks silence, it is because he sees that one of those rare opportunities has come when speech may have a practical issue. The opportunity, of course, now as ever, is not of his seeking. He knows little of ways and means in the ecclesiastical world. But somehow it has arrived ; or he thinks it has. Letters of Business have been issued to the Convocations, authorizing them to consider 'the desirability, and the form and contents, of . . . any modifications of the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine service' ; and there are 'modifications' which the plain man has long desired. Accordingly in the Club he broaches the subject to some of his more ecclesiastical friends of either party, and is a little disturbed to find that with one consent they regard revision as entirely unnecessary and singularly inopportune. But such sudden unanimity among antagonists being a phenomenon not unfamiliar to him in more secular affairs, reflection enables him to divine a reason for it. When any party stands to lose by change, it is obvious wisdom to call change inopportune ; and each extreme seems to have persuaded itself that it has at least nothing to gain by revision. A revision of rubrics, which would bring to an end a period of private glosses and mis-understandable 'understandings' with the powers that be, must tend to strengthen episcopal authority, which is the last thing the extreme Ritualist party wishes to do ; on the other hand, as such a revision would certainly allow that party more liberty of ceremonial than they possess under the judicial interpretation of the present Ornaments Rubric, it would be distasteful to the extreme Protestants. Accordingly two things begin to dawn upon the plain man : one, that the revision in which he himself is interested, which has nothing to do with the vesture of the clergy, is being jeopardized by the mutual jealousy and suspicion of the extreme factions ; and the other, that if peace is ever to come to the Church, it must be through the determination of men like-minded with himself not to suffer these extreme parties, by noisy recriminations and threats of secession, to Burke the attempt which the bishops have none too soon initiated to place the public worship of the English Church

in a position of more stable equilibrium. The present article is an attempt to set forth, first, the changes which the plain man desires in his own interest ; and, secondly, those to which he would consent in the interests of peace and reconciliation.

But it may be well, on the threshold, to address a word of sympathy to those pious souls who deprecate changes, not in any party interest but of mere love and admiration for our ancient Prayer Book. No true Churchman could wish these feelings to be less, but he might ask that they should be more discriminating. We may love and admire our friends, we may revere the aged, without wishing them to retain their faults. It is sometimes forgotten by those whose feeling of respect for the Prayer Book is the result of training and habit rather than of reflection, that each part of that venerable volume has come to its present form through a multitude of small changes introduced at various times, and that it would have been far less worthy than it is of their regard if idolatry like their own had prevailed from the first.<sup>1</sup> At the same time it is only right that they should be assured that it is not proposed by anyone to revise on any large scale, much less to throw the whole body of Church Offices into the melting-pot. The liturgical studies of recent years have increased the respect of scholars for the skill and learning and judgement, as well as the devout spirit, of Cranmer, who is in the main responsible for the beauty of the Prayer Book. No one to-day would wish to undo what he did so well. Indeed revision might consist, in some cases, in reverting to his

<sup>1</sup> The history of a single Collect will sufficiently illustrate the process. Could anything read more like a spontaneous effusion than the Collect for the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity? It appears first in a Latin form in the Leonine Sacramentary. In the Gelasian Sacramentary it is entirely rewritten. Cranmer paraphrased very freely as follows : ‘ Almighty and everlasting God, which art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve, pour down upon us the abundance of Thy mercy ; forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving unto us that that our prayer does not presume to ask ; through Jesus Christ our Lord.’ The present conclusion was substituted in 1662.

original proposals. At any rate, any revision attempted now would be a revision in his spirit ; that is to say, it would be guided by two paramount considerations—sound learning, and the edification of the Church. An American, writing from an independent point of view, has well seized the characteristic features of our English Prayer Book ; and his words may be quoted here as an evidence that it is not because those characteristics are not appreciated and thankfully acknowledged that proposals can be entertained for further revision :

'The Anglican Church retained what Christian piety had accumulated during the Christian ages in the line of devotion and in the Christian ordering of time, or in the æsthetic and impressive arrangement of its worship. But there was a cleansing and a purification : whatever was contrary to the Word of God was rejected ; whatever harmonized with it was retained. The Prayer Book was not an accidental or fortuitous production, but the work of one who devoted many years to liturgical study, and who by practical experience knew the impressive points in breviary and missal, and felt the impressive features which carried a religious and Christian appeal. The Prayer Book became, through Cranmer's influence, a constructive work of literary skill and of artistic merit as well as a summary of religious devotion. It was done also at the right moment in history. The juncture of the new and the old constituted a plastic creative hour ; and the man met the hour, who was devoted to the Christian faith as revealed in Scripture, but who without prejudice or reactionary tendency was able and glad to discern in the religious consciousness of the past whatever bound it to the present or the future.'

With so much of explanatory and apologetic preface we may proceed to the main business. The first point on which the plain man is dissatisfied with the present Church service is its use of Holy Scripture, and here he desires change on both grounds mentioned above, edification and sound learning. The principle of edification, which is laid down by St. Paul as the fundamental consideration in the ordering of all Divine service, is expressly recognized by Cranmer as that which must govern the selection of passages

to be read in the congregation. The rubric on the reading of Holy Scripture, before the revision of 1662, stood as follows : 'The Old Testament is appointed for the first lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer, and shall be read thorow every year once, *except certain Books and Chapters which be least edifying, and might best be spared, and therefore are left unread.*' The Lectionary has been twice revised since Cranmer wrote these words, but probably no one, however constitutionally conservative, will be found to maintain that there is not room for further improvement. To begin with, there is need of a special selection of passages from the New Testament for the Sunday services, to correspond with the special selection already made from the Old Testament. The present practice of reading on Sunday whatever happens to be the lesson for the day of the month can only be defended on the ground, already rejected for the Old Testament, that every chapter is equally edifying, and can stand alone apart from its context. With the whole of the New Testament to choose from, there is really no excuse for reading, as one of the fifty most appealing Christian messages, let us say, Romans xvi. or 1 Cor. vii. In the second place there is need for further revision in the Sunday selection of lessons from the Old Testament. Much has happened, in the world of Biblical scholarship, since the present Lectionary was made thirty-five years ago ; the current theory of inspiration has changed during that interval, and for the plain man two facts have clearly emerged : first, that there are stories in the Old Testament Scriptures which he is no longer compelled as a Christian and a Churchman to regard as historically true, although his immediate forefathers so regarded them ; and, secondly, that the direct attribution of actions and events to God is made from the point of view of the time, and not from that of absolute truth. This last position may be most simply illustrated from the story of David's numbering of the people, an action which in the book of Samuel is attributed to the suggestion of God and in the book of Chronicles to the instigation of Satan.

These considerations have an immediate bearing upon

the question of edification, and so upon the suitability of certain passages for public reading in the Christian assembly. To an educated Christian any and every chapter in the Bible may be edifying, because he instinctively sets it in its right historical perspective ; whereas the simpler brethren cannot but look, in whatever they hear in church, for direct spiritual profit. It seems to follow that while the week-day lessons from the Old Testament should be chosen from as wide a field as possible—because it is, as a rule, the educated classes who follow the Church's calendar, whether in public or in private—the Sunday lessons should contain nothing which requires refocussing in the light of the Christian revelation. The liturgical Epistles and Gospels might be expected to follow the rule of the Sunday lessons, and consider the needs of the simpler sort. It will be admitted that for the most part they are admirably chosen ; but some more easily intelligible passages might be substituted for the Epistles for the Fourth Sunday in Lent, and the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Sundays after Trinity, which are all primarily concerned with an ancient controversy, and require antiquarian knowledge for their interpretation. Would it not be well also to omit from the Epistle for All Saints' Day the catalogue of the tribes of Israel, which to modern Gentile Christians is quite unimpressive ? One or two changes also in the Gospels and Epistles are called for in the interest of sound learning. The Epistle for the First Sunday after Easter still retains the verse about the three heavenly witnesses, which every Biblical scholar since the days of Erasmus has known to be an interpolation ; and the Gospel for Ascension Day is taken from the appendix to St. Mark, which is now recognized not to form part of the original Gospel. St. Paul, in laying down his directory for public worship, urges upon the brethren that the edification they seek should be that of the whole body. It concerns the learned, therefore, that in this matter of Church services they should consult the spiritual needs of the simple, and it no less concerns the simple that they should respect the intellectual conscience of the learned.

A somewhat different problem is presented by the Psalter. It is true to say that the meaning of the Psalms when sung in the Christian assembly is not their original meaning but that which in the course of two thousand years of Christian use they have come to bear. Nevertheless there are Psalms which have hitherto resisted Christian interpretation, and the Christian conscience deserves so much respect as would be implied in liberty to omit or to curtail them. In face of that great saying of our Lord, ‘Ye have heard that it hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy ; but I say unto you, Love your enemies,’ it is almost incredible that the Christian Church should still be singing the imprecations of the 109th and 137th Psalms. The American Episcopal Church, in its Revised Prayer Book, has sought to meet the difficulty by allowing any one of twenty approved selections to be sung in place of the Psalms appointed for the day. This is an ingenious device, and it would be better to follow this example than do nothing at all. But the Christian Church owes it to her Master to banish from the spiritual songs of the congregation the principle of retaliation for injuries, seeing that what was expressly allowed to the Jewish Church is expressly not allowed to us. One other piece of revision is necessary in regard to the Psalter. It was an act of wisdom on the part of the Caroline revisers, when they introduced what we call the Authorized Version into the Epistles and Gospels, to leave the Psalter in the translation of the Great Bible. The cadences of Coverdale’s English are singularly beautiful, and they have made themselves a home in the hearts of Englishmen. But there are unintelligible places—perhaps a verse in every third Psalm—and these cry out for correction. It is not easy for a plain man to sing with the spirit, if he does not sing with the understanding also.

The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer happily presents no stumbling-blocks.<sup>1</sup> With the Litany it forms

<sup>1</sup> Two small points may be noted. Printers have recently taken upon themselves to repunctuate the petition in the Lord’s Prayer ‘Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven,’ by placing the comma after ‘done’

the unique glory of our English service book. The only unsatisfactory part of the daily Office is the section of supplementary prayers. Nothing could be better than the prayers added in 1662 for the Ember Days, for Parliament, and for All Conditions of Men. But the older prayers—‘for fair weather,’ ‘in time of dearth and famine,’ and ‘in time of plague’—either rehearse in their prefaces certain stories of the Old Testament which have lost their impressiveness for the modern imagination, or they lay down the doctrine that pestilence and famine are God’s punishments for sin—a doctrine for which, in so general an application at any rate, there is no warrant in the New Testament. The Thanksgivings are free from these objections, except the two for deliverance from plague, which in these days are not required and might be omitted.

The Collects for the day could with difficulty be improved. Even when they miss some point in the original, the English form has become so familiar that it might be unadvisable to alter it.<sup>1</sup> But there is one interesting detail, connected

instead of after ‘earth.’ For this punctuation there is no authority in any English Prayer Book. In the standard copies, the ‘Convocation Book’ (as it is called) of 1662, and the ‘Annexed Book’ written out from it for the press, the petition not infrequently has no stop; but when there is one, it comes after ‘earth.’ In a revised Prayer Book it might be allowable to omit the comma, but it would not be well to go against so many centuries of English tradition, to which Marbeck’s plainsong bears eloquent testimony, by placing it after ‘done.’ This outburst of originality among the printers is the more remarkable, as they have substituted a comma for a semicolon in the Nicene Creed after the clause ‘Being of one substance with the Father,’ because the comma is the stop in their exemplar, although the semicolon is required by the sense. The other point worth noticing is that the *Amen* has dropped out after the long prayer in the Litany, and should be replaced.

<sup>1</sup> If any corrections were made, the following are worth consideration. In the Collect for Peace at Matins the words ‘the might of,’ introduced by the translators, obscure the fact that the words are an intercession. In the Collect for the Presentation ‘by’ should be modernized into ‘through.’ In the Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Easter the preface does not fit the prayer. Cranmer, following the Latin, wrote: ‘Almighty God, which dost make the minds of *all faithful men* to be of one will.’ The revisers of 1662, who made the change, were possibly thinking of the King’s restoration. The Collect before

with a title, which may not be beneath the consideration of revisers. A new name was given in 1662 to the feast of Candlemas, to bring into prominence the original purpose of the commemoration, as it is expressed in the ancient Collect, which Cranmer simply translated : ‘ Almighty and everliving God, we humbly beseech Thy Majesty, that as Thy only-begotten Son was this day presented in the temple in substance of our flesh, so we may be presented unto Thee with pure and clean hearts,’ &c. From 1662, therefore, the feast has been styled in the Prayer Book ‘ The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called The Purification of St. Mary the Virgin.’ But even in the manuscript prepared for the press the new title was written in somewhat smaller letters than the old, and the old title supplied the headline ; and most printers since have preserved this difference. It is surely time that the feast should be given back to Him in whose honour it was instituted,<sup>1</sup> by the omission of the second title altogether ; for this has now ceased to be a popular title, like the other alternatives, Christmas Day and Ash Wednesday, and actually obscures the real significance of the festival. A corresponding change should be made in the calendar.

A word may be allowed here upon the *Quicunque vult*. Most Churchmen, whatever their individual preferences, have gradually come to the opinion that the consciences of their brethren should not be coerced, as they are at present, by its compulsory recitation at Divine service ; while at the same time they are, many of them, in favour of its being left in its present position in the Prayer Book as a valuable protest against tri-theism, the rubric alone being cancelled. A difference of opinion might arise on the

Advent is far better in the original, which prays that we ‘ plenteously bringing forth the fruit of the Divine working may be more plenteously reinforced by the Divine goodness.’ The Trinity Sunday Collect obscures the point of the original, that the true faith is itself the Divine defence.

<sup>1</sup> See Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 261 : ‘ C'est à Jérusalem que nous la trouvons d'abord instituée, et cela dès la seconde moitié du quatrième siècle. La *Peregrinatio de Silvia* la décrit sous le nom de *Quadragesima de Epiphania*. Dans la description de Silvia, on ne remarque aucun indice d'une préoccupation spéciale de la Sainte Vierge

question whether any, and if so what, explanatory note should be appended in regard to the minatory clauses. The declaration adopted by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1879 is in many ways excellent; but when it says 'the warnings in this Confession of Faith are to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings of Holy Scripture,' it is open to the objection that some at least of the warnings have no parallel in Holy Scripture. It would perhaps be sufficient to add a purely historical note.<sup>1</sup>

In the Order of Holy Communion there are very few things that trouble the plain man, unless it happens to be the case that he knows something of the ancient liturgies. The points to which objection is most often raised are the insertion of a special Collect for the King (who is prayed for over again, almost immediately, in the Prayer for the Church) and the rehearsing of the Ten Commandments. It must be admitted that the Prayer for the King seems here a little out of place, and it is at any rate unnecessary to provide a choice of forms. The objection to the Decalogue cannot be so well sustained. The reason of the rehearsal is to remind the faithful that the true worship of God, as St. James teaches, is a good life; and experience goes to shew that no people are in such need of being reminded of the elementary duties of morality as those whom our forefathers were wont to style 'professors.' It is proposed sometimes to substitute for the Decalogue the two great Commandments which our Lord Himself declared to be their sufficient epitome: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great Commandment. And

<sup>1</sup> 'Faith' in the New Testament is never pure intellect (*cf.* St. John iii. 18, Jude 3, Heb. xi. 6) and the Creed as now recited conveys the impression that it is; but as originally composed 'the condemnations apply not to intellectual error but to moral cowardice; . . . the emphasis is not on orthodoxy but fidelity. Everything points to the conclusion that it was loyalty, constancy, firmness in holding fast and preserving despite temptations [from the Arianism of the Gothic conquerors] the faith as they had received it that is the paramount thought of the Quicunque.' (Bishop Dowden *Helps from History to the true sense of the minatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed*, Edinburgh, 1897.)

the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' It might be a good thing to follow the American revisers in adding this great summary at the close of the Commandments; but as a means of stimulating conscience, for which particulars are more useful than generals, it would form an inadequate substitute for them. A more effective means of modernizing the Commandments would be to omit the special reasons urged upon the Hebrews for keeping them, as well as the amplifications specially adapted to bring home to them their force. The reason given in the Prayer Book version for keeping the Fourth Commandment is not, of course, itself a part of the Commandment, an entirely different reason being given in the Deuteronomic form (*Deut. v. 14*), and to omit it would be a distinct gain to modern Christians who no longer base their Sabbath upon the Mosaic or any other cosmogony. And as to the amplifications, it will be remembered that St. Paul quotes the Tenth Commandment in the simple form, 'Thou shalt not covet' (*Rom. xiii. 9 ; vii. 7*), which to us speaks more directly than when property is analyzed into house and wife, servant and maid, ox and ass. It is possible that on literary grounds such excisions might be deplored; but in Divine worship it is difficult to pay too high a price for sincerity. Beautiful and familiar cadences are well lost, if their removal makes the worshipper recognize that something of eternal significance is being said, and said to him. 'Quoniam non cognovi literaturam, introibo in potentias Domini.' It would be well also to adopt in the introductory rubric a clause which is found only in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, 'asking God's mercy for the transgression of every duty therein, either according to the letter or to the mystical importance of the said Commandment.'

The defect of our Order of Holy Communion, when it is compared with ancient forms, is the deficiency of the Eucharistic element. Too much attention is devoted to man's unworthiness, too little to the greatness of God. This was perhaps inevitable at a time when Reformers were insisting upon the necessity of a right faith in the worshipper in order to the reception of the grace of Sacraments, but

it is to be regretted. No one could object to the beautiful service of preparation for Communion—consisting of Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access—which in Cranmer's first Prayer Book was introduced between the Canon and the administration; but when in the second book, which our Order still follows, the Canon was broken up (the Prayer for the Church being placed in the ante-Communion and the Prayer of Oblation in the post-Communion), and the service preparatory to reception was made an integral part of the liturgy, the proportions were disturbed, the Eucharistic element in the service proper was reduced to the *Sursum Corda* and *Sanctus*, and even then the culmination of the Eucharistic act in the Prayer of Consecration was hindered by the interpolation before it of the Prayer of Humble Access. In the Scottish book of 1637 this was rectified; the Prayer of Humble Access was placed immediately after the Prayer of Consecration, to which the Prayer of Oblation was once more attached, the whole concluding with the Lord's Prayer. These two changes are the least that ought to be asked for when the liturgy is revised. But as unnecessary change in what has sacred associations is always to be deplored, and as these changes would not appeal to any but those who have studied the structure of the liturgy, it is worth consideration whether a better course would not be to license the Communion of Cranmer's first Prayer Book as an alternative liturgy, modernizing the grammar and the spelling, and omitting the alternative title 'commonly called The Mass,' as being capable of misinterpretation. There are several things preserved to the Church of England in that first Reformed liturgy which ought not to be lost. First, in the prayer for the Church a distinction is made, which answers to the facts of human nature, between 'the saints' for whom we give 'most high praise and hearty thanks,' and 'all other God's servants' whom we 'commend to His mercy.' It is not hard to understand how, when the doctrine of Purgatory had but just been got rid of, even this 'commendation' seemed to some Reformers a dangerous liberty; nevertheless it is utterly unreasonable to forbid it,

and to insist that so soon as our Christian friends are dead they are to become the subjects no longer of our prayers but only of our thanksgivings. Another primitive custom preserved to us in that liturgy is the Oblation of the Elements as the typical sacrifice due from man to God. A third is the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Elements before Communion. The introduction of this Invocation, which is the distinguishing feature of the Greek liturgies, but is not found in the Roman use, prevents the somewhat mechanical view of consecration, fostered by our present service, which fixes attention upon the manual acts. Unfortunately Cranmer introduced the Invocation before, instead of after, the Prayer of Oblation, which thus loses its primitive character. The right order has been restored in the Revised Prayer Book of the American Church, and would have to be restored in our own if this liturgy were allowed for present use. A fourth ancient custom retained in the Edwardine liturgy is the mutual confession of sins. The congregation is moved to make their '*humble confession to Almighty God and to His holy Church here gathered together in His name.*' In this sentence we have the corrective to some vulgar notions of priestly absolution. There is one other change which ought to be made both in this earlier liturgy and in our own. The Proper Preface for Whit-Sunday is the worst example of a practice which here and there disfigures the Reformers' liturgical work, the attempt to combine prayer to God with the instruction of the people. At this moment of the service the long historical recitation from the Acts of the Apostles is especially out of place, as, instead of giving a special point to the Eucharistic thanksgiving, it diverts attention from the fact that thanks are being given. The ancient preface is very much better : '*Per Christum Dominum nostrum ; Qui ascendens super omnes coelos, sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum Spiritum sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat : sed et supernae virtutes atque angelicae potestates hymnum gloriae tuae concinunt, sine fine dicentes . . .*'

The Occasional Offices fall next to be considered. Of

these the best constructed is the 'Form of Solemnization of Matrimony,' which departs in the fewest particulars from the ancient service. Still a few changes would undoubtedly improve it. The latter part of the opening address, added by the Reformers to the old homily, might be spared. The verb 'worship' in the sense of 'honour' was antiquated even at the last revision, and the bishops promised that it should be changed; that the change was not made was probably due to an oversight. In the forms of espousal a distinction, unknown to any ancient form, has been introduced between the man's 'plighting' and the woman's 'giving' of troth. As the distinction carries no difference of meaning, and being in a legal formula attracts notice, and is sometimes even emphasized, as though it were of moment, by the less instructed of the clergy, it should be removed and the same word used in both cases. Perhaps the prayer 'O Merciful Lord,' which is much better in the original Latin, might be translated anew. Last there is the homily. The homilies which were introduced into the Prayer Book by the Reformers, in their zeal for instructing the people, have undoubtedly escaped the general fate of such writing by the carefulness of their composition and the restriction of their topics to essential truths. This marriage homily, confessedly only a substitute for a sermon, might be allowed to stand if the last paragraph were removed, which gives to the whole an air of unreality. Of the homily in the Commination Service it is difficult to speak. It has many admirers, and nothing could be better done as a *cento* of Scriptural quotations. At the same time nothing could be less effective for its purpose upon a modern mind which has no reverence for texts out of their context. It would be well to allow this whole introductory part of the Ash Wednesday service to disappear, and to fall back, as in pre-Reformation times, upon a sermon. In the service for the 'Churching of Women' the Psalm, already abbreviated, might with advantage lose one more verse, 'I said in my haste, All men are liars,' which has almost too poignant a relevancy to the special intention with which the Psalm is said. The Baptismal Service, which falls almost entirely

to the single officiating minister, is much too long. It contains six exhortations and nine Collects. Perhaps one of each might be spared. Moreover, the minister has to recite the whole Apostles' Creed in the form of a question. It would be far better, and nearer the custom of antiquity, to employ a summary of the Creed, such as that given in the Catechism. Again, the first Collect contains, in its preface, a statement about the river Jordan which is theologically questionable—it was questioned at the Savoy Conference—and a statement about Noah's Ark which is no longer held to be matter of fact. If the preface were omitted, the Collect would still retain what alone is of consequence, St. Peter's beautiful use of the ark as a type of baptism. In the last exhortation the expression 'in the vulgar tongue,' which the Revisers in 1662 substituted for 'in the English tongue,' is unnecessary, and is capable of misinterpretation by the ignorant.

The Burial Service is often praised, and undoubtedly it is dignified and solemn ; but it cannot be compared for pathos and beauty with the Sarum service from which it ultimately derives. That service falls into three parts—one to be said in the church, one on the way to the grave, and one by the graveside. It is very long, but the length cannot in this case be imputed as a fault. Grief is long, and leave-taking is long, and hope is long. Moreover, there is progression in thought as the service proceeds. It opens on the merely human note : 'The snares of death compassed me about, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me,' sung three times, and followed by the *Kyrie eleison*. Three prayers are then said by the priest, standing at the head of the corpse, each followed by a verse and response sung by the precentor and choir as the priest censes the coffin. 'Thou who didst raise Lazarus from the grave, grant them rest and a place of refreshment.' 'Alas, O Lord, because I have sinnèd in my life, what shall I do ? Whither shall I flee, if not to Thee, O my God ? Have mercy upon me, when Thou comest at the last day. My soul is troubled above measure ; haste Thee to help me, O Lord.' 'Deliver me, O Lord, from eternal death in that tremendous day,

when heaven and earth shall be removed, when Thou comest to judge the world with fire.' After these solemn anthems and Collects the priest asks for prayers for the departed and all faithful souls—and then the *Kyrie eleison* rings out again; but now, for the first time in the service, it is followed by the great Christian prayer, the 'Our Father,' coming thus as a climax to relieve all human fears and kindle Divine hope. A few suffrages are said and a short collect, and the first service is at an end. What follows is pitched altogether in the high Christian key. During the procession to the grave the choir sang *In exitu Israel* (cxiv.), a Psalm of exultation, followed (if time allowed) by *Ad te, Domine, levavi* (xxv.). The grave was opened to the strains of Psalm cvii. with the antiphon 'Open to me the gates of righteousness,' and the corpse was laid in it, the choir singing meanwhile 'Like as the hart desireth the water brooks'; then when earth had been thrown cross-wise over the body the grave was filled in as they sang 'Lord, Thou hast searched me out and known me.' Then came a solemn commendation, 'I command thy soul to God the Father Almighty; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost'; *Benedictus* was sung with the antiphon 'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' and the service sank once more to the level of penitence, with Collects, responses, and the *Miserere*. It is interesting to note that, except for a few expressions in some of the later Collects, there is nothing in this service to imply or even suggest the mediæval doctrine of Purgatorial fire—so conservative has Rome always been in her Offices, even when most lax in allowing popular developments of doctrine.

The great difference between the Sarum rite and our present service is that the latter is very little concerned with the departed, and almost entirely occupied with the mourners. The long lesson is addressed to them; the Psalms express their thoughts not for him who is gone but for themselves; even the anthem at the committal is a prayer for themselves; and so, for the most part, is the final Collect. There is a good side to this, of course; it was intended to express the strong faith that 'the souls of the righteous are

in the hands of God,' and need no supplication of ours. And then, again, the banishment of all that symbolic action of the priest round the coffin has had the good effect of breaking down the superstition, in the minds of the simple, that such a rite, so ministered, was necessary to the eternal welfare of the faithful dead. Certainly the English race has advanced too far from its childhood to permit of the revival of that ancient dramatic ritual. But when this is admitted, it remains true that the present Office does not express all the feelings that we wish, and have a right, to express about our departed friends. We have prayed for them when they were living, and we would pray for them still. Some of them, perhaps, were saints, but the most were not, and prayer befits them as much as thanksgiving. At least we would think of them for one poor hour rather than of ourselves, and commend them to God. The first Reformed Prayer Book left Christian burial with what must have seemed, at the time, very maimed rites, but it permitted the commendation of the soul to God ; and it offered a more appropriate selection of Psalms than the 39th, which is a prayer for recovery from sickness, and the 90th, which is a prayer for national prosperity. It would be a wise course, in view of some recent cases of reversion to the mediæval rite, to allow the Order for the Burial of the Dead in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. as an alternative use. It would require no revision, except perhaps in the suffrages. The lesson, introduced by the Reformers, which is the same in that and in our present service, could ill be spared to-day, when modern knowledge has rendered faith in immortality less easy to the plain man than it was three centuries ago ; but St. Paul's argument would be strengthened for modern ears by the omission of a few verses here and there.

It remains to consider what changes are desirable in the cause of reconciliation. The leaders of the Low Church party have not formulated any grievances ; nor have the leaders of the High Church party, because they consider that what they want is already secured to them by the Ornaments Rubric, which they interpret, as any plain man, ignorant of

the controversy, might interpret it, to mean what it says, although a very different interpretation has been put upon it by legal decisions.<sup>1</sup> They differ, however, from the plain man in preferring the present conflict of interpretation ; and some of them, who seem to be pillars, allow the uncertainty of interpretation to extend to points which to persons with no thesis to serve seem beyond dispute. The Ornaments Rubric prescribes 'that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.' As the first Reformed Prayer Book was not issued until March 1549, i.e. within the *third* year of Edward, which began on January 29th, it has been found possible to argue that the rubric licenses all ornaments (some contend even all ceremonies) of the pre-Reformation Church.<sup>2</sup> It is satisfactory to learn that this nice historical point has been cleared up by the learning of the Royal Commissioners, and that High Church liturgiologists now profess themselves as on the whole convinced that the 'authority of Parliament' referred to in the rubric is the Act of Uniformity, to which the first Prayer Book was annexed.

<sup>1</sup> The chief point in dispute concerns the relation to this rubric of the Advertisements of 1566. The present writer may take leave to say that the view he finds most convincing is that expressed by Mr. Chancellor Chadwyck-Healey before the Royal Commission that the Advertisements only modified the Act of Uniformity to the extent that they allowed the disuse of the vestments provided the surplice was worn in their stead ; so that a maximum and minimum use were, and are still, provided by lawful authority.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, *Minutes of Evidence*, 11724. 'I am a plain person, and the second year of King Edward VI. means to me a certain 365 days between certain dates. That is a fact which it seems to me no legal interpretation can interfere with.' Plain persons are generally well advised to allow lawyers to interpret their own language, and they tell us that it was the common practice at the time to refer to statutes by the first day of the session, irrespective of the time when they passed the two Houses or received the Royal Assent. The second Act of Uniformity which legalized the Second Prayer Book refers to the Act under which the First Prayer Book was legalized as 'the Act of Parliament made in the *Second* year of the King's Majesty's reign.'

What, then, the great middle party in the Church of England has to consider is whether the claim of the Ritualists, as they are called, to interpret the Ornaments Rubric in its *prima facie* sense shall not be allowed, and their present practice be regularized by an express recognition that the ornaments prescribed in the First Prayer Book for the Order of Holy Communion are ‘an albe plain with a vestment or cope.’ Those who object to such regularization do so on the ground that these vestments imply that mediæval doctrine of the Mass which the Church of England has in her Articles rejected as erroneous; and the plain man would agree that this would be a sufficient ground for refusing to sanction these vestments, if the plea could be sustained. The President of the English Church Union does the rank and file of his party a very ill service by taking every opportunity to disparage the Reformation, so that the Protestant wing is kept well supplied with fuel for its anxieties. The middle party, however, should remember that laymen are seldom theologians, and if they are bent upon doing justice they must confine their attention to the broad requirements of the situation and the real facts of the case. As matter of fact, then, it cannot be held that the vestments are symbolical of doctrine which the Church of England has condemned. They are centuries older than the doctrine of Transubstantiation. They were prescribed by Cranmer for use with a liturgy which he himself had carefully revised. They were again prescribed in the Elizabethan Prayer Book after the repudiation of the Marian Romanism. They were prescribed again at the Restoration, when the Prayer Book was for the last time revised after the Savoy Conference. No doubt on each of these occasions they were objected to by the Puritans, but the Puritans scrupled no less at the surplice, the one as much as the other being held to be ‘rags of Rome’; but as the Church theoretically gave in to the Puritan view in neither case, there is no reason in the nature of things why the one should not be revived as much as the other if a large number of the faithful so desire, and if the Church as a whole so determine.

Into the question of whether the present House of Commons would be allowed by our Dissenting brethren to consent to our making any alteration in any rubric this article does not enter. Our first business is to make peace in our own borders. And in order to make peace we have to make up our minds whether we are prepared to allow our Christian brethren to worship God in garments which to them are edifying, though we may not find them so. Have we any more real sympathy with toleration to-day than our forefathers had in the seventeenth century? Have we yet learned to distinguish between unity and uniformity? It may be worth while to recall that even in Tudor days, when the same problem had to be solved which confronts us now—for the Puritan and Ritualist represent two ineradicable tendencies of human nature—there was found a statesman wise enough to counsel the toleration of both parties. In the paper ‘Concerning Church Controversies’ which Francis Bacon addressed to Queen Elizabeth occur the following sentences, which are as pertinent to-day as they were then, and deserve more consideration than they then received.

‘The present controversies [he says] do not concern the great parts of the worship of God, of which it is true that there will be kept no unity in believing except it be entertained in worshipping; but we contend about ceremonies and things indifferent; in which kind if we would but remember that the ancient and true bonds of unity are “one faith and one baptism,” and not one ceremony, one policy; if we would observe the league among Christians penned by our Saviour—“he that is not against us is with us”; if we could but comprehend that saying, “The diversities of ceremonies do set forth the unity of doctrine,” and that other, “Religion hath parts which belong to eternity and parts which belong to time” . . . our controversies of themselves would close up and grow together.’

**And again :**

‘They think it the true touchstone to try what is good and evil by measuring what is more or less opposite to the institutions of the Church of Rome; that is ever more perfect which is removed most degrees from that Church, that is ever polluted

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and blemished which participateth in any appearance with it. This is a subtle and dangerous conceit for men to entertain ; apt to delude themselves, more apt to delude the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries.'

And once more :

'The honourable names of sincerity, reformation, and discipline are put in the foreground, so that their contentions and evil zeal cannot be touched except these holy things be first thought to be violated. But howsoever they infer our solicitation for the peace of the Church to proceed from carnal sense, yet I will conclude ever with St. Paul, "While there is among you strife and contention, are ye not carnal?" and howsoever they esteem the compounding of controversies to savour of man's wisdom and human policy, and think themselves led by the wisdom which is from above, yet I say with St. James, "This wisdom descendeth not from above, for where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work."'

H. C. BEECHING.

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## ART. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF GRACE.

1. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt.* Ediderunt LEOPOLDUS COHN et PAULUS WENDLAND. Volumina quinque. (Berolini : typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1896–1906.)
2. *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponeensis Episcopi Opera.* Tomi XVIII. (Bassani : ex typographia Remondiniana, 1807.)
3. *S. Thomae Aquinatis Summa Thcologica.* Tomi VIII. Editio Decima Quinta. (Parisiis : apud Bloud et Barral, N.D.)
4. *A Manual of Theology.* By T. B. STRONG, M.A. [now Dean of Christ Church, Oxford]. (London and Edinburgh : A. and C. Black, 1892.)
5. *Outlines of Christian Dogma.* By DARWELL STONE, M.A. Third edition. (London : Longmans, 1903.)
6. *A Manual of Theology.* By J. AGAR BEET, D.D. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.)
7. *Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress.* By JOHN BUNYAN. The Text edited by JOHN BROWN, D.D. (Cambridge : at the University Press, 1907.)

## I.

IN the early years of the seventeenth century the doctrine of Grace became the subject of an acute controversy which confused the lines of disunion established in Western Christendom. At Rome the Congregation *de auxiliis gratiæ* was vainly endeavouring to settle the strife between Jesuit and Dominican theologians. The Reformed in Holland were at the same time busy with a similar dispute, which the Synod of Dort and the beheading of Oldenbarneveldt brought to a violent conclusion ; its echoes were loud, though vague, in the later activity of English Puritans. The Church of France was next engaged ; Molinist and Jansenist worried the same question, with many others, and the substance of the quarrel is not the less dreary for being illuminated by the wit of Pascal. The Borghese

Pope, who regarded such topics from the standpoint of the man of the world, had tried to impose silence on the disputants ; it was useless, for the controversy was real and would continue until men were persuaded that it was also insoluble.

It was in effect the controversy which St. Augustine had stirred when he entered the lists against the Pelagians. In his day, as at other times, there were many who deprecated strife. The Easterns were in the main for peace ; not for compromise, but for the tacit toleration of contradictions. We may think their attitude wise, because it resembles our own ; but, unlike ours, it was not based on exhaustive experience ; the controversy was real, and solutions must be attempted until all had failed. St. Augustine's conclusions, which were no solution but rather an uncompromising statement of the problem, held the field in Western Christendom. Slightly modified by the wise theologians of Southern Gaul, they became integral to the Christian conscience. They formed the language of the liturgy ; men prayed on the express assumption that they were moved by prevenient Grace ; they asked for Grace to perfect in them what Grace had begun. From time to time exaggerations emerged ; the terms of the problem were treated as terms of a solution. Then the Christian conscience revolted. Gotteschalk, for example, was condemned. Towards the other extreme there was hardly a movement. The theology of the Schoolmen, the regular analysis of current thought about religion, found the doctrine of Grace in possession ; the work of the School was but to refine its inherent distinctions, to emphasize or to harmonize the incompatibilities of what men believed and practised. All theory of the Christian life assumed experience of the state of Grace, clearly distinguishing it from the state of Nature. This was the postulate alike of Christianity and of Christendom ; Wyclif was but working things out to a logical issue when he brought all authority to this touchstone—the authority alike of the Pope and of the mesne lord—declaring that dominion over Christian men belongs only to him who abides in the state of Grace.

*Gratia dividitur contra naturam*, says St. Thomas Aquinas. The sharp antithesis had vast consequences. It was tolerably safe in the hands of St. Augustine, with his firm conviction of the essential goodness of all that is natural—even in the Devil. For him, Grace was essentially a super-added endowment, incidentally a remedy for the perversion of Nature. It was tolerably safe in the hands of St. Thomas, whose invincible common-sense and shrewd balancing of contraries shewed him the divine *auxilium* operating in the state of Nature, though not by the specific mode of Grace. It was dangerous for smaller minds, or for minds which lay at the mercy of dialectic. It spread over Christian thought a crust of supernaturalism. Men moved as in two planes of existence. Wyclif might try to lift the ordering of common life into the plane of religion ; but that implied the desertion of the lower plane, to which the ineradicable humanity of man would not consent. They must have their lower existence, with its own laws, as well as the higher ; and so kings did rude justice without too much reliance on divine Grace, and Popes and mesne lords, fallen from Grace, played the tyrant over subjects who still acknowledged their rights.

Under the influence of supernaturalism, the doctrine of Grace hardened into a scheme of mechanical operation. The force might be the election of divine sovereignty, it might be the *opus operatum* of a sacrament, or the two might be fused as by the Jansenists : it was all one ; sinful, helpless man was to be lifted up, with a dead heave, out of his natural corruption into a state of salvation. Hence the weary controversy about *efficacious* grace. It must be something more than sufficient, for a *sufficient* grace implied possible failure. Obvious inferences were drawn out to extravagance : the limit was reached when Alexander VIII., sore pressed between contending factions, had to condemn the proposition that a man may laudably and profitably pray : *A gratia sufficienti libera nos, Domine.*

The controversies of the seventeenth century would have been less acrid, had there not been a genuine fear of Pelagian vanities. The humanism of the Renaissance

struck hard at the conception of a corrupt nature, and consequently at any doctrine of Grace which assumed the helplessness of fallen man. Against this tendency the stricter Augustinianism of the next age was defensive, and it was therefore intolerant of the countervailing theories which found lodging among the Jesuits. These were, no doubt, in part an accommodation to humanism, but they were partly a genuine product of an expanding theology; they were in any case an attempt to rescue the doctrine of Grace from its more uncompromising friends. Like influences were at work among the Reformed in the Netherlands; it was by no accident that Hugo Grotius was on the side of the Remonstrants. In England also it was humanism that was called Arminian, but a humanism which strove not unsuccessfully to be Christian. A complete conciliation was impossible; the tyranny of logic drove men to conclusions; the eighteenth century brought a sullen agreement to differ, and the dominant religious thought of Europe was now not far removed from Pelagianism, while sectaries threw on the language of St. Augustine.

## II.

These old controversies are dead, but there was that behind them which survives. There is a new naturalism against which a real psychology protests, as the men of the Renaissance protested against the supernaturalism of their day; there is a new doctrine of Grace which English theologians, captives of a native word, may push to extremes in their preaching of Atonement.

That which is permanent behind the shifting phases of theology is an idea—the Christian idea of Grace. It is a religious, not a theological idea. Theology may analyze it, and then farse the analysis with alien matter; the idea itself is anterior to all theology, and will outlive many theologies. It is in its origin older than Christianity, though it has become Christian; it can therefore subsist without Christianity, though it will then vary in colour. It is an idea full of potency, so that it can beget new religious

thoughts and new practical religions. How shall we seize it? A static conception of Christianity will fail here, even if it seem satisfactory elsewhere. We cannot say that the doctrine of Grace is a progressive explication of a truth definitely revealed in the preaching of the Gospel; we cannot refer the idea of Grace to a definite fact so revealed. 'Grace and truth,' it is said, 'came by Jesus Christ'; and they are contrasted with the law which was given through Moses. True: that is the antithesis of a developed Christianity; but the word and the idea are anterior to the Gospel, which here, as elsewhere, justifies its claim to be rather the filling out of old conceptions than the promulgation of novelties.

St. Paul, as far back as we can trace his thought, appears to be in full possession of the idea. But we search his writings in vain for a definition. He always treats the idea as perfectly familiar, the common property of those whom he addresses. The weakness of the argument from silence, when there is but fragmentary evidence, is of course recognized. But we are not left to this argument. The silence of St. Paul as to the promulgation of a new idea needing definition is justified by positive witness. But before we come to that, let us observe that he is not only in possession of the idea: he has proceeded to its analysis. He already has a theology on the subject, and his system would seem to have been fairly definite. It was perhaps peculiar to him; no School was yet possible, and his ordered thought remained only his until it was partially recovered by St. Augustine; but the historic doctrine of Grace is a development, more or less legitimate, of what he formulated for himself. The idea of Grace must not be confounded with that formulation, any more than with later growths; it lay behind the doctrine of St. Paul, as it lay behind the doctrine of Calvin or of Arnauld; in its simple content it is integral to all Christian thought the least theological. The task is to disentangle the idea from its theological presentment. Then we may understand its fruitfulness in all theologies, old and new.

It is difficult for us to detach even the word from its theological associations—to 'depolarize' it, as Wendell

Holmes would say. We do not, indeed, use it only as a technical term : it has a place in our common vocabulary ; but as soon as we utter it in connexion with religion, unforget-  
gotten definitions begin to stiffen around it and make it the slave of the School. And there is a converse danger. A word in common use has a fluid meaning ; when chosen to represent a particular idea it needs careful guarding, or new shades of meaning will creep in to obscure the idea. It is well to get behind the more elaborate definition of the term ; but it is important also to fix the simpler content which is implied in its specific use.

### III.

A lexicological study of the term will be helpful, if its limitations be observed. An attempt to settle the meaning of *gratia* by derivation from *gratis* must fail, if only because *gratia* is not in this connexion an original word but a translation ; we are on safer ground in Greek, but even there etymology must be questioned with caution. It has been so questioned from very early days. Philo proposes alternative explanations of the religious use of the word *χάρις* : it comes either from the thought of God's bounty in the bestowal of His gifts, or from consciousness of the beauty of character which those gifts engender.<sup>1</sup> But that is an attempt to get behind the recorded history of language ; it is safer to ask what was the current meaning of the word which acquired so prominent a place in Christian language, and what part of its content was specially appropriate to this use.

Primarily we find that *χάρις* means beauty, and more especially beauty regarded as giving pleasure to the beholder. The word easily and frequently passes on to signify gracefulness of manner or address : it should have no difficulty in advancing to the signification of moral beauty and attractiveness. Such use, however, is not easily

<sup>1</sup> *De Abrahamo*, II. ἡ τῷ κεχαρίσθαι τὸν θεόν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει τὰς τρεῖς δυνάμεις πρὸς τελειότητα τοῦ βίου ἡ παρόστον ἀνταὶ δεδώρησται ψυχὴ λογικὴ ἔαντάς, δώρημα τελείον καὶ κάλλιστον.

identified.<sup>1</sup> St. Paul occasionally approaches it, most nearly perhaps where he says: ‘God is able to make all grace abound unto you; that, being always and in everything resourceful, you may abound unto every good work.’<sup>2</sup> But there is no certainty that he ever gets clear away from collateral significations. A doubtful reading in the Acts of the Apostles makes Stephen ‘full of grace and power,’ and brings us close to the conception of beauty and strength of character. If we pass on to consider the secondary sense of the word, we find that it stands for the effect of beauty on the beholder and the favourable regard which ensues; then also for an act expressing such regard. Here is an obvious connexion of ideas, and the English word *favour* has made the inverse movement. In the third place it signifies the gratitude evoked by a favour received.

Derivatives will sometimes help us to determine the true sense of a word. It does not appear that *χαίρειν* can be more than remotely connected with *χάρις* for our purpose. But *χαριτοῦν*, though it occurs only twice in the books of the New Testament, is important. It is the source of the scholastic term *gratia gratum faciens*, which Father Rickaby has well rendered ‘Grace constituting a state of Grace.’<sup>3</sup> The word is neglected by Suidas, in spite of its frequent ecclesiastical use, or we might have some useful light thrown on its essential meaning. The laws of Greek derivation assign it a strong factitive sense, and it is used by the son of Sirach to describe a man endowed with grace of character. Hence we should urge that in the Epistle to the Ephesians the rendering ‘made us accepted’ will not do, and the ‘freely bestowed’ of the Revised Version is even worse: the word must contain the idea of endowment with spiritual beauty. So too may be interpreted the angelic salutation to Mary.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the passage quoted above from Philo, *φύσις*, *μάθησις* and *δύνησις* are the three *χάριτες*.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. ix. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Of God and His Creatures*, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Eccl. xviii. 17, *κεχαριτωμένω*; Eph. i. 6, *ἐχαριτωσε*. There is perhaps some play on the sense of *χάριτος* immediately preceding, which is certainly *favour*; and there may be a like play in *εὗρες χάριν* following

The word *χαρίζεσθαι*, on the other hand, recalls more usually the sense of *favour*. It is easily reduced to the bare signification of *giving*, the etymology being ignored. In the books of the New Testament, with one possible exception in the Epistle to the Galatians, it never seems to mean anything but giving or forgiving, with the least possible reference to the fundamental idea of Grace. Even the one exception is doubtful, but Grimm is probably right in making the passage mean generally that God shewed a favourable regard for Abraham.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that *κεχαριτωμένος*, frequently used by Greek authors adjectivally in the sense of *pleasant*, does not occur in the books of the New Testament. Another word conspicuously absent is *χαρίεις*. The meaning of *χάρισμα*, so prominent in St. Paul's theology, is etymologically determined by that of *χαρίζεσθαι*. It is a word formed in the most ordinary fashion, but, so far as we are aware, it is not found in any writer earlier than Philo. It is sometimes used by St. Paul in the general sense of a gift, but exclusively of a gift spiritual in character; in his formally Christian language it acquires a more specific signification, closely following the developed sense of *χάρις*.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.

There are, then, interacting notions of *beauty* and *favour*, of which the former is logically prior. It is beauty that induces a favourable regard. But as the group of cognate words comes into the service of the Christian idea of Grace, this anterior notion seems to retire into the background. So the lexicological evidence suggests. Is the suggestion sound?

What is the source of the Idea? Christianity was not *κεχαριτωμένη* in the angelic salutation, where the perfect participle can hardly signify anything but 'fully endowed with abiding grace.'

<sup>1</sup> Gal. iii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Philo, *Legg. Allegor.* iii. 24. *Toῖς γαῦν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ἀρχὴ γενέσεως, ὅρθότατα ἦν τὸ ἀποκρίνοντο, ὅτι ἀγαθότης καὶ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἦν ἔχαρισμα τῷ μὲν αὐτὸν γένει δωρεὰ γὰρ καὶ εὐεργεσία καὶ χάρισμα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν.* In 2 Cor. i. 2; *τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα* is perhaps rather 'the favour shewn to us' than a definite gift.

a new creation. It is sometimes so described with conscious hyperbolism to emphasize the value of the elements of newness which it contains ; but, in sober truth, it is always presented as the renovation of what was old. The idea of Grace was not one of the new elements imported. It received important corrections, and some addition was made to its content, but in the main it was taken over as already familiar. Already had Plato played upon the word and its derivatives in connexion with the divine goodness, the source of all good things, Already had the Latin equivalent been found, and Cicero could gird at Epicurus for denying *esse in deo gratiam*.<sup>1</sup> Judaism had a conception hardly more noble, but far more precise. The Church sprang from the Synagogue fully armed in this regard. Israel was thought of as a people specially favoured by God. If that be the source of the idea of Grace, it accounts for the preponderance of the element of favour over that of beauty in the complex notion. But we cannot rest here. This special favour demands explanation. It rests upon some principle of choice in which lies the ultimate secret of divine Grace.

The favour reserved for Israel took the form of certain privileges and prerogatives, which might be figured either as complete in the present state of existence or as extending into a world to come. Why were these privileges bestowed ? Were they an arbitrary endowment at the will of the Creator, the Lord of Heaven and Earth ? There were words of prophecy which implied as much : 'Was not Esau Jacob's brother ? Yet I loved Jacob ; but Esau I hated.' The Deuteronomic presentation of the law is full of this thought : Israel was not chosen for any worth or greatness of his

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Euthyphro*, 14-15 ; Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, i. 43. His criticism would not be out of place in a Christian writer : 'Epicurus vero ex animis hominum extraxit radicitus religionem, cum dis immortalibus et opem et gratiam sustulit. Cum enim optimam et praestantissimam naturam dei dicat esse, negat idem esse in deo gratiam. Tollit id quod maxime proprium est optimae praestantissimaeque naturae. Quid enim est melius aut quid praestantius bonitate et beneficentia ? Qua cum carere deum vultis, neminem deo nec deum nec hominem carum, neminem ab eo amari, neminem diligi vultis.'

own, but by the free election of God. Whatever an earlier age may have thought of mutual pleasure and profit to be found in the communion of God and man, the age of the prophets faced an apparently insoluble antinomy. A consciousness of unworthiness sank deep into the minds of those to whom the holiness of God was becoming real, and so there was a tendency to attribute divine favours to the merely sovereign will of God; on the other hand these favours implied worth in the recipient, or else the privileges of Israel were utterly unethical—nay, unjust. An evasion was sought in the worthiness of the fathers; men should look to the rock whence they were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence they were digged, to Sarah who bare them and to Abraham their begetter. Enoch and Noah walked with God—were *well-pleasing* to God, say the Seventy, and the word is echoed in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It had already been echoed by the son of Sirach in his ‘Praise of Famous Men,’ and there also is the thought of Abraham as the father of Grace:—

‘Abraham was a great father of a multitude of nations;  
And there was none found like him in glory;  
Who kept the law of the Most High  
And was taken into covenant with Him:  
In **his** flesh He established the covenant;  
And when he was proved, he was found faithful.’<sup>1</sup>

Philo develops this idea with exceeding copiousness. He conceives Abraham in the terms of Stoicism as the only free man, the only king, because peculiarly the Friend of God, and therefore truly wise.<sup>2</sup> He dwells on the form of the great promise: *Walk before Me, and be thou perfect: and I will make My covenant between Me and thee.* ‘Covenants are written,’ he says—playing on the double meaning of the Greek word, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews did afterwards—‘for the benefit of those who are worthy of a gift; thus a covenant is a sign of grace, which God

<sup>1</sup> Εὐηρέστησε τῷ θεῷ. Gen. v. 24, vi. 9; Hebr. xi. 5; Eccl. xliv. 16-20. Compare Gen. xvii. i., εὐαρέστει ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γίνου ἀμεμπτος.

<sup>2</sup> *De Sobrietate*, II.

has set between Himself the giver, and man the recipient ; and this is the very extravagance of kindness, that between God and the soul there is nothing but the Virgin Grace.'<sup>1</sup> The Grace of the Covenant is almost personified. As the *Word* is in Philo's language the first-begotten Son of God, so *Grace* is the virgin daughter of God. 'Every good thing,' he says, 'comes of communion with the bounteous God. Wherefore in sealing his promise of kindness, he says : *I will be with thee*. And what good thing can be wanting where God the fulfiller is wholly present, with the Graces His virgin daughters, whom the Father that begat them nourishes and maintains incorrupt and inviolate ? '<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere he seems to glance at the Hellenic myth. He likens the four powers of king and lawgiver and priest and prophet, indissolubly united in Moses, to the Virgin Graces, who are bound together by an unchanging law of Nature.<sup>3</sup> It seems pretty certain that, with the Greek word, one of the most beautiful conceptions of Greek mythology was entering into the thought of Alexandrine Judaism.

There is here some combination of the two aspects of Grace. Abraham is well-pleasing to God, and God consequently extends His favour to the seed of Abraham—this favour being almost, if not wholly, hypostatized. In relation to the actual community of Israel, however, the combination fails, and the idea is unethical ; the favours granted neither follow nor affect the character of the recipient. Elsewhere we find in Philo a very different note. 'Consulting none else—for other there was none—but

<sup>1</sup> *De Mutatione Nominum*, 6. Διαθῆκαι δὲ ἐπ' ὀφελείᾳ γράφονται τῶν δωρεᾶς ἀξίων, ὥστε σύμβολον εἶναι διαθήκην χάριτος, ἣν μέσην ἔθηκεν δ θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ τε ὄρεγοντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνοντος. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ εὐεργεσίας τοῦτό ἔστι, μὴ εἶναι θεού καὶ Ψυχῆς μέσον, ἔτι μὴ τὴν παρθένον χάριτα. He dwells on the form of the oath : κάγω, ἵδον ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ. It is as though God said, ἡ πασῶν χαρίτων ἀρχή τε καὶ πηγὴ αὐτός εἰμι ἐγώ. *Ibid.* 8.

<sup>2</sup> *De Migr. Abrahami*, 6-7. πηγὴ δέ, ἀφ' ἧς ὁμβρεῖ τὰ ἀγαθά, ἡ τοῦ φιλοδώρου θεοῦ σύνοδός ἔστιν· οὖν χάριν ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὰ τῶν εὐεργεσῶν φησιν. ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ. τί οὖν ἀν ἐπιλίποι καλὸν τοῦ τελεσφόρου [παντὸς] παρόντος θεοῦ μετὰ χαρίτων τῶν παρθένων αὐτοῦ θυγατέρων, ἃς ἀδιαφθόρους καὶ ἀμάντους ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ κονροτροφεῖ

<sup>3</sup> *De Vita Mosis*, ii. I.

taking counsel with Himself alone, God saw the need of endowing with prodigal wealth of graces that nature which, without such a divine gift, could of itself attain no good.'<sup>1</sup>

Again, playing on the name of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, he presses this same point of the helplessness of nature, and describes the effect of Grace. ‘Without divine grace it is impossible either to forsake mortal things, or to cleave to that which is incorruptible ; but the soul that is full of grace rejoices with smiling and dancing ; yea, revels in such sort that to the uninitiated it may seem to be drunken and beside itself.’<sup>2</sup>

This effect of Grace is finely conceived in his comment on the words *Noah found grace*. Did he receive more Grace than others ? No, all are favoured alike. Was he found worthy of Grace ? That is a possible meaning, as applying to one in whom the divine image was not polluted. But of whom can this be said ? Can it be said even of the universe as a whole ? Rather do the words mean that Noah himself found all created things to be nothing else but so many gracious gifts of God. That is to say, he was able to rejoice in God’s works ; he was in harmony with God.<sup>3</sup> Thus Grace may be said to produce graciousness ; a certain beauty of character is not the cause but the effect of the divine favour. We are very near the conception of *gratia gratum faciens*.

We have sought so much of Philo, because here is a man, outside the Christian community and an elder contemporary of its beginnings, uttering thoughts which afterwards developed into the Christian doctrine of Grace. It is evident that Christianity absorbed a current idea. As Philo, or the school from which he sprang, gave to the Church the outlines of the doctrine of the Word, so from the same

<sup>1</sup> *De Opificio Mundi*, 6. οὐδενὶ δὲ παρακλήτῳ—τίς γὰρ ἦν ἔτερος ;—μόνῳ δὲ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν ἀτιμεύτοις καὶ πλοντίσαις χάριστι τὴν ἄνευ δωρέας θείας φύσιν οὐδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ δυναμένην ἐπιλαχεῖν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς.

<sup>2</sup> *De Ebrietate*, 36. ἄνευ γὰρ θείας χάριτος ἀμήχανοι ἡ λιποτακτῆσαι τὰ θητὰ ἡ τοῖς ἀφθάρτοις ἀεὶ παραμεῖναι χάριτος δ’ ητις ἀν πληρωθῆ ψυχή, γέγιθεν εὐθὺς καὶ μειδιᾶ καὶ ἀνορχεῖται. Βεβάκχευται γάρ, ὡς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνοργάνωτων μεθύειν καὶ παρουσεῖν καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἀν δόξαι.

<sup>3</sup> *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*, 23.

source came the idea of Grace. It is an idea containing two disparate elements. There is the unethical conception of the covenanted favour of God, deriving from the merits of Abraham imputed to certain of his offspring ; there is the ethical conception of a gracious gift from God to every individual man, which works in him a corresponding graciousness of character.

The whole was taken over by Christianity, and along with it the conception of a perverted human nature which could of itself, without the succours of Grace, do no good thing. The adoption of the former element was connected with the prophetic teaching of the Remnant. It is not clear how and when it thus entered into the primitive Christian consciousness. The two direct references to it in the Epistle to the Romans may be peculiar to St. Paul, and proper to the special argument on which he is there engaged ; but the prevalence of the conviction that the promises made to the fathers were now reserved to those who accepted Jesus for the Christ can hardly have been due to his sole influence. If it inspires the opening of that first Epistle of Peter which so faithfully echoes his thought, it also governs the address of the very independent Epistle of James ; for we can only take 'the twelve tribes of the Diaspora' to mean the people of the New Covenant. But the argument of the Epistle to the Galatians, possibly the earliest of St. Paul's extant writings, goes further. It implies the actual transfer of the prerogative to a Church which is predominantly Gentile ; and this, he boldly says, was from the first the true meaning of the promise. The seed of Abraham was Jesus Himself, together with all who are joined to Him by faith and baptism. Yet Israel was none the less the true heir in childhood ; the extension of the covenant to the Gentiles is comparable to a coming of age. The verbal tortuousness of the argument does not hide the writer's intense conviction of a reality. Read this in connexion with the figure of the grafted olive-tree, used in the Epistle to the Romans, and you seem to have the whole of St. Paul's thought. It is not perfectly coherent. The stock into which the Gentiles are engrafted seems to be

at one time the faithful Remnant, at another time the Person of the Christ; but it is not difficult to imagine a synthesis.

It is not, however, a synthesis that is reached in St. Paul's later epistles, but rather a simplification. The doctrine of the Remnant seems to have been a means of transition to a broader conception. God has made all alike, Jews and Gentiles on equal terms, meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints : He has carried us over and established us in the kingdom of the Son of His Love. The conception of Grace, the divine favour, as a privilege of the sons of Abraham, has been applied by the mediation of the Remnant to the Christian Church. 'We are the Circumcision, who worship by the Spirit of God, and glory in Christ Jesus.'<sup>1</sup> The identification of the Kingdom and the Church is perilous and inexact, but the two thoughts melt into each other without a clear boundary. Taken apart in their extreme diversity, they are as unlike as two thoughts can well be : the monarchy of the Divine Love, and the organization of the Christian community, may be so understood as to have nothing in common ; but the Church, with its potentiality of brotherly love and of a love that transcends the brotherhood, is in fact an attempt to realize the Kingdom. This brotherhood is the heir of the promises of grace, the inheritance of the saints. But Abraham is no longer prominent as the type and origin : the Lord Jesus Christ, the Beloved Son, has completely taken his place.

Here is the fully developed Christian idea of Grace, at once old and new, like all else in the Gospel. The divine favour, the kindly beneficence of the Heavenly Father, stands in the forefront ; the divine beauty, the endowment of favoured humanity, follows in due order. But the two conceptions are at one moment perfectly conciliated. There is logical priority without priority in time. Divine favour is the source of divine beauty in man ; but the Man, Jesus Christ, is not thought of as attaining that beauty through effort following an arbitrary bestowal of favour.

<sup>1</sup> Col. i. 12-15 ; Philipp. iii. 3.

If from one point of view the child Jesus grew in Grace before God and man, from another point of view the Incarnate Son was conceived as coming into the world full of Grace and truth. Thus the word from heaven, ‘This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,’ is a declaration of simultaneity ; the gift and its consequence, the sovereignty of love and the compelling worth of the Beloved, are perfectly at one ; ‘mercy and truth are met together : righteousness and peace have kissed each other.’ In Jesus personally the antinomy is resolved ; but this reconciliation is only the central point in the whole work of Grace ; in the Beloved, by virtue of a certain mystical union, we too are made recipients of the divine favour. He is the one mediator of Grace. Christian thought has halted between the conception of a higher Grace made possible by the Incarnation, and the more profound speculation which sees in Jesus Christ the anticipated cause of the graces bestowed on men from the beginning ; from either point of view it is possible to distinguish between other effects of the divine graciousness and that special state of Grace to which the Christian soul is raised. The doctrine of the State of Grace becomes a specific feature of Christian theology.

## V.

But it soon appears that the Christian idea of Grace, thus developed, may be just as unethical as the idea of an arbitrary favour bestowed on the chosen sons of Abraham. St. Paul shews himself alive to this peril. His favourite corrective seems to be the obvious thought of responsibility for privileges ; but there is another which sometimes emerges—the conception of sufficiency.<sup>1</sup> He regards the endowment of Grace as actually producing in the recipient a fitness and a capacity answering to the privilege. Once at least he speaks definitely, like Philo, of a natural incapacity for good, a need which is supplied by

<sup>1</sup> *ικανότης*. One is inclined to wonder why he did not use—invent, if necessary—the word *ικύνωσις* for the *operation*, as *ικανότης* stands for the *effect*.

the succours of Grace : ‘We are not able of ourselves to reckon anything as coming from ourselves, but our ability is from God.’<sup>1</sup> The thought passed into the peremptory Johannine apophthegm : ‘Without Me ye can do nothing,’ and it lies behind St. Paul’s comparison of the Christian life to a revival from death. It must have been general and familiar among believers, to be used so unconstrainedly. The notion of moral strength imparted by Grace was evidently current ; it is an enrichment of reason and knowledge, says St. Paul ; it was the source of his skill as master-builder.<sup>2</sup> The ‘manifold grace’ of 1 Peter can hardly be anything else but the Grace that helps men in their various needs : the *charismata* so prominent in St. Paul’s practical theology are in many cases helps to righteousness ; in 2 Timothy we find express reference to the strengthening effect of Grace, and we may pass thence to a like use of terms in Clement and Ignatius and so to the standard language of Christian ethics.<sup>3</sup>

It seems clear that the first element in the idea of Grace is the divine favour. It is logically first : in our explanation of the word we must invert the order of the lexicon. It is first in time, for all men born to natural imperfection. Equally foreign to the idea is the notion of a natural beauty in man eliciting that favour, and the more subtle notion of a resultant beauty, apparent to the foreknowledge of God, inducing its bestowal. The sovereign will of God stands first. But the ethical value of Grace is saved by the recognition of another element ; there is a true spiritual comeliness conveyed to the soul. This does not, however, remove the difficulties inherent in the hypothesis of election. What is there of ethical value in the choice of this man or that man, to be the recipient of Grace ? Is it not the negation of ethical value ? These difficulties seem to be inextricable. There is no help for it. The idea of election cannot be escaped ; for it is no mere hypothesis, but a recognition of plain

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. i. 4, iii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Tim. ii. 1, ἐνδυναμοῦ ἐν τῇ χάριτι. Clement, 1 Cor. 55, γυναικες ἐνδυναμωθεῖσαι διὰ τῆς χάριτος. Ignatius, Smyrn. 13, ἔρρωσθε ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος . . . ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ,

fact. Some men are favoured above others. It is possible to reject the hypothesis of choice by a will that can be called in any sense personal, and so eliminate one kind of unethical action ; but this leaves the facts ethically unexplained, and shuts out the possibility of an ethical explanation. Accept the idea of election, and you make such an explanation remotely possible, even though the fact be, for the moment, one of those which John Stuart Mill called 'final inexplicabilities of nature.' You may not be satisfied with St. Paul's robust conviction that the Judge of all the earth must do right ; you may suspect that it failed to silence his own obstinate questionings. You may see a glimmer of reason when you understand that election is not merely to privileges, but rather to a life of labour and responsibility. A scheme of salvation in which every man has *charismata* suited to his needs and opportunities will give small occasion for revolt : an order of Grace, in which the chief *charisma* and the highest work is charity, will be generally commended by the human conscience. But it is idle to suppose that all can be made plain.

## VI.

We have touched what seems to be the value of the idea for the religion of our day. It has passed through a long course of theological treatment ; it has barely survived, but it still lives. It lives because it is the recognition of a real experience. The election of Grace is a fact. The hungry are filled with good things, and the rich are sent empty away ; Jacob is loaded with the favours of love, and for Esau there is the drouth of Mount Seir. But we are disposed to approach the idea from the side opposite to that by which it entered the Christian consciousness. We do not start from an habitual contemplation of divine favours bestowed on a peculiar people, and proceed to a search for the practical and religious effect of such favours upon the individual recipient. That may still be the course of catechetic instruction, but it is not the course of introspective analysis. Our habit is rather to begin

with the individual consciousness, the personal experience. 'I am consciously at war with the eternal purpose of things, of my own being and of the order of the world. I have experience of sin. I have experience also of a deadly weakness ; to will is present with me, but how to perform that which I would, I find not. The utmost effort of my nature disappoints me. I look abroad, and I find that others have the same experience. But if my nature fails, I need some help that is beyond my nature, a supernatural aid. This, I am told, may be obtained by the grace of God. Others bear witness to it : I too obtain it. Out of weakness I am made strong.'

So the idea of Grace seems to be presented to our minds. Consequently the fact of election is not a stone upon which we stumble towards the end of our inquiry ; it is the rock from which we start. The fact that I personally have received this supernatural help, which others may lack, is the amazing circumstance from which my synthesis of religious experience proceeds. St. Paul himself seems to have made such a progress, and he never ceased wondering at it ; but St. Paul was probably exceptional, if not unique, among the Christians of the first age. This similarity of thought is due, we may suppose, not so much to any native resemblance between his mind and ours as to his immense influence on the subsequent theology of Grace ; for this theology, however little we may be in accord with its form, has entered deeply into the Christian mind. During many centuries it was so persistently analyzing certain facts of spiritual experience, that we cannot easily ignore those facts ; we may reject the synthesis of theology, but the results of its analysis hold good. The system of St. Augustine may perish, but it leaves a conviction of the need of supernatural succour ; the distinctions of the School may induce resentful weariness, and yet they have contributed something permanent to our mental equipment ; we may be impatient of the rigid theories of Port-Royal and of that regard for special providences which Port-Royal shared with men as alien as the Wesleys, but the quiet waiting for the movement of Grace which so strangely penetrated

the tumult of the *grand siècle* has come, by many channels, to be a part of our practical religion.

If it seem over-bold to assert the general acknowledgment of the need of supernatural succour, that is due probably to a narrow conception of the supernatural—to an excessive polarization of the word. The supernatural is as different as possible from that which is preternatural or contranatural. It is a part of the coherent system of which God is the Author. The difference between the natural and the supernatural is only the difference between ordinary and extraordinary powers, between faculties which are connatural to us and endowments which are bestowed on us. It is possible to lie in the slime and to be fairly happy ; but there is a general aspiration after heights of less or greater altitude, towards which we are conscious of struggling in vain unless there be added to us wings of desire and a new spiritual strength. You may be content with Nature, if you prudently set your affection on things within your reach ; when you stretch yourself beyond your measure, you need the succours of Grace. There are times indeed for relying chiefly on these. It was the counsel of Professor T. H. Green that a man should cultivate ‘a wise passiveness to the heavenly influences which are ever about him.’ On the need of these influences it has been well said by one who certainly does not lack sympathy with the modern spirit :—

‘ This divine and supernatural life, with its disinterested ideals and enthusiasms, is altogether beyond the resources of our natural and separate powers of endurance and abnegation, and beyond our limited psychic and mental energies. Of ourselves we cannot even think, much less desire and perform effectually, what is disinterestedly good in the divine and universal sense. Such thoughts and desires and performances do obtain in us all, but only because we are all by our whole nature and destiny instruments of God’s working, which mingles with ours in every instant of our inward life. If it is only through Him that we can think and do anything that is really good and divine, it is only through Him that we can do more : it is only by so adjusting ourselves as instruments to His hands, that from Him the strength and vigour of the Whole may flow into

us and make us equal to the labour and suffering entailed by the service of universal ends—to the strain of a divine life energising in the frail mechanism of our finite nature.'<sup>1</sup>

The idea of Grace finds outward expression in the sacramental system of the Church. The symbol may be disproportionately valued, but even at the lowest depth of appreciation the essential meaning is not lost. There is a public, sacred act, by which the heirs of Grace appropriate the divine favour and claim the divine aid. God gives freely, but man must lay hold of the gift. The publicity of the method is invaluable. Subjectively considered, the possession of Grace is consciousness of beauty and favour; and this, if conceived in terms exclusively individual, may have deplorable results. It is a strange, but not inexplicable, perversity which has made some strenuous advocates of the doctrine of Grace to be known chiefly as sour fanatics. A larger practice will justify the insight of Philo; a certain 'hilarity' should flow from the consciousness of Grace received, rising on occasion to enthusiasm.

But of all things implicit in the Idea, that which counts perhaps for most is the potentiality of infinite beauty taken as the measure of a man's value. There is a corresponding virtue—sustained aspiration after the unattainable. The development of this conception of the supernatural may possibly be the destined contribution of our age to the theology of Grace. We will not venture on more than a bare indication of what is meant; it is the tremendous thought of Browning's Rabbi ben Ezra, 'All I could never be. . . . This, I was worth to God.' Here may lie the secret of that ethical presentment of the election of Grace which we impatiently demand. There let the suggestion rest: it illustrates the continuing fruitfulness of the idea.

T. A. LACEY.

<sup>1</sup> Tyrrell, *A Much Abused Letter*, p. 73.

## ART. V.—CHILDREN WITHOUT NURSERIES.

1. *The Town Child.* By REGINALD A. BRAY, L.C.C. (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1907.)
2. *The Family.* By HELEN BOSANQUET. (London : Macmillan & Co., 1906.)
3. *The Children of the Nation.* By the Rt. Hon. SIR JOHN E. GORST. (London : Methuen, 1906.)
4. *Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities.* Edited by E. J. URWICK, M.A. (London : Dent, 1904.)
5. *The Problem of Boy Work.* By SPENCER J. GIBB. (London : Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1906.)
6. *The Apprenticeship Question.* Report of a Section of the Education Committee of the London County Council. (London : P. S. King & Son, 1906.)
7. *Baby Toilers.* By OLIVE C. MALVERY [MRS. ARCHIBALD MACKIRDY]. (London : Hutchinson, 1907.)

THE article on 'Books about Children' in the July number of the CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW calls up by contrast before the minds of many of us another aspect of child life which is gradually receiving a literature of its own, as its importance becomes more fully realized. There are hundreds of thousands of children who know nothing of the 'bright, fireside, nursery clime,' of which R. L. Stevenson sang so beautifully, and social reformers are endeavouring to ascertain with some exactness the conditions of their existence. It may be that there is a tendency to depict them in dull grey tones, forming a sombre contrast to the rosy hue which seems to brighten the life of the child of the nursery, but in dealing with some of these books we shall endeavour, at the risk of being charged with coldness and want of sympathy, to present the life of 'the child without a nursery' simply and plainly as we know it. There are many degrees and variations, but it may be possible to find certain main features which are a weakness to the national life, because obstacles to the full physical and religious development of the children, and to suggest remedies for the improvement of the conditions in order that they may be enabled 'to learn

and labour truly to get their own living, and to do their duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call them.' We shall for the present confine ourselves to the same scope as the books under notice, and deal only with the life of the child in the urban areas of mean streets. This is a sufficiently large subject without attempting to embrace the almost opposite circumstances of the child living in the country, for whom, too (it may be argued), the fields and woods form a perfect nursery.

The doctor who works in 'James Street' and communicates from time to time to *The Treasury*,<sup>1</sup> his 'studies' of life in that dismal neighbourhood is a keen observer, but evidently lives in a town which is considerably behind the large centres of population in its care of the public health. Nevertheless, one item<sup>2</sup> from his note-book is sufficiently characteristic to justify quotation :

'Emmeline Josephine Jones's advent into the world in general, and into Number 11 James Street in particular, was not a source of any undue rejoicing to her mother. Emmeline was Mrs. Jones's thirteenth ; and as a neighbour once remarked feelingly about Mrs. Jones, "'Er 'adn't 'ad no luck.'" Eleven out of the thirteen were still alive, in spite of a very mixed diet during infancy and a childhood spent almost entirely out of doors, in all weathers and in very little clothing.

'Emmeline was a very small baby, and not beautiful to look at, resembling more than anything else a very much emaciated monkey. Her grandmother (every house in James Street can boast of a grandmother) remarked on first seeing her, "It's a pity the Lord don't remember'er." However, Emmeline was evidently intended for some purpose, for she was not "remembered." Instead, she managed to pass through the troubled sea of babyhood on a diet of bread, condensed milk, beer, and occasional gin, and failed to come to grief on the rocks of measles, whooping-cough, teething, and overlying.'

Emmeline Josephine's mother had certainly been unfortunate, according to her neighbour's manner of judgement, for the death-rate among their children is far higher

<sup>1</sup> October 1906, February 1907, and July 1907.

<sup>2</sup> October 1906, p. 7.

than one in six.<sup>1</sup> Throughout England and Wales an average of 226 out of every thousand children are dead before the age of five ; but in mining counties the number is 254, and in Lancashire 274, as compared with 151 in the agricultural counties. In those parts of the country where a large proportion of married women are engaged in industrial employments, there is, combined with a high birth-rate, an even greater wastage of child life, amounting at the end of the fifth year to a loss of 26 per cent. in Leicester, and as much as 32 per cent. in the Potteries and 33 per cent. in Salford. These figures are based upon statistics collected for the purpose by the Registrar-General, who adds in his last annual report : ' Further, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the high rates of child mortality prevailing in many of the industrial areas denote conditions of life which most certainly have an adverse effect on the physical well-being of the survivors.'<sup>2</sup>

This statement is supported by data, published since, of a remarkable inquiry instituted by the School Board for Glasgow. It is the most extensive investigation ever undertaken in Great Britain as to the height and weight of school children in primary and higher-grade schools. An elaborate set of statistics was collected with much care by the teachers, and classified in correlation with the housing conditions :<sup>3</sup>

' The figures show that the one-roomed child, whether boy or girl, is always on the average distinctly smaller and lighter than the two-roomed ; and the two-roomed than the three-roomed ; and the three-roomed than the four-roomed. The numbers examined are so large, and the results are so uniform that only one conclusion is possible—viz. that the poorest child suffers

<sup>1</sup> The Upper House of Canterbury Convocation recently endorsed a resolution of the Lower House ' that efforts should be made to check the appalling rate of infant mortality, especially in the congested parts of towns, both by proper instruction and more stringent legislation.'—See *Guardian*, July 20, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> *Sixty-eighth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England and Wales*, Cd. 3279, p. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Report by Dr. W. Leslie Mackenzie and Captain A. Foster on a collection of statistics as to the physical condition of children attending the public schools of the School Board for Glasgow, Cd. 3637, p. v.

most in nutrition and in growth. It cannot be an accident that boys from two-roomed houses should be 11·7 lbs. lighter on an average than boys from four-roomed houses and 4·7 inches shorter. Neither is it an accident that girls from one-roomed houses are, on the average, 14 lbs. lighter and 5·3 inches shorter than the girls from four-roomed houses.

At each age, from five to eighteen, the average weight of the children is uniformly below the standard of the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association, with the exception of the boys drawn from the four-roomed houses, whose weight was identical with, and height slightly above, the standard. Valuable information of this character is the best kind of argument in favour of carrying out an anthropometric survey under the auspices of a central department devoted to the work. The nucleus of such a department has been formed by the Board of Education to co-operate with the local authorities in carrying out the medical inspection authorized by the Act of last session.<sup>1</sup>

Various efforts have been made to save the lives of some of the 120,000 infants under the age of twelve months who die every year in England and Wales. One of the most interesting was Mr. Broadbent's offer as Mayor of Huddersfield to give 1*l.* to the mother of every child born during the year of his mayoralty who produced the babe alive and well upon the day he went out of office. This offer reduced the death-rate from 134 to 54 per thousand, and his example has been followed elsewhere. Lord Robert Cecil has endeavoured to systematize these different attempts of voluntary and municipal agencies to save infant life, by obtaining the assent of Parliament to a general law requiring the notification of the birth of a baby to be sent to the

<sup>1</sup> The first recommendation of the Inter-Departmental Committee upon Physical Deterioration, which reported in 1904, was that a permanent Anthropometric Survey should be organized as speedily as possible. 'In the first instance, this survey should have for its object the periodic taking of measurements of children and young persons in schools and factories, enlisting for this purpose the assistance, among others, of school teachers and factory surgeons, supplemented by a small staff of professional surveyors.' (See Report of the Committee, vol. i. Cd. 2175, p. 84.)

Medical Officer of Health within thirty-six hours by the father or some person attendant upon the mother. This notification is in addition to the registration. It is left to the local authorities to apply the Act, though the Local Government Board may make an order bringing it into force in any district where it is necessary, if the local authority has failed to make an application. Several towns have already obtained powers to this effect in local Acts. An opportunity is thus afforded to provide assistance to the mother in rearing her child, and nourishment for both of them. But these excellent efforts do not touch the difficulty that if we desire children to be born healthy, the condition of the mother in the preceding period must be taken into consideration. It is sufficient to cite the case of the mother who gives way to the excessive use of alcohol to shew the seriousness of this omission. Dr. Branthwaite, Inspector of Inebriate Reformatories, told the International Anti-Alcohol Congress at Stockholm that

'the last five hundred women received in the reformatories in England had on an average given birth to five children each, fifteen of them to more than ten, and one to seventeen. Fifty per cent. of those children were dead, but 1,250 remained destined to be a burden to society and to themselves and to multiply their kind.'<sup>1</sup>

At the age of about a month or six weeks, as a rule, the Church first comes into contact with the child. The mother may already have been 'churched.' As an act of thanksgiving the service is in many cases a mere form. A superstitious kind of reverence attaches to it as an item in the birth of a child of which the omission may bring bad luck. With regard to the baptism of the child there has recently been some improvement upon the hole-and-corner method of administering that sacrament in an empty church, but the rubric requiring the service to be read 'when most people are come together' should obtain more general compliance.<sup>2</sup> Even uninstructed minds, if surrounded by

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, August 12, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Although this breach of the Church's law has been declared 'non-significant' by a Royal Commission, it seems merely ridiculous to laymen unversed in political and ecclesiastical casuistry to create a ferment

a crowded congregation, may realize some force in the words 'We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock.' The rubric requiring 'that there shall be for every Male-child to be baptized two Godfathers and one Godmother; and for every Female, one Godfather and two Godmothers,' is another of which the neglect is common.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Church, as much as any negligent parent, allows her children to make an inauspicious start in life.

For the next year or two the baby is in the care of an elder sister, or sometimes brother, to an extent which may generally be gauged by the poverty of the parents. The patience, and in many cases sympathy, of these child-nurses is oftentimes really remarkable. Frequently the small nurse is entirely without any resources but those of her own invention to give pleasure and comfort to the little baby. Mr. Bray suggests (p. 101) that the babies might be taken to school and utilized for giving actual instruction to the older girls in the care of children. Certainly something is needed to make the information given in the schools more practical in its character. The establishment of *crèches*, upon the lines which have been followed with success for more than sixty years in France, is the means adopted by municipalities and voluntary enterprise to assist the mothers in the care of their babies.

At the age of three the child *may* and at five *must* be sent to school. The Board of Education have been discouraging their attendance at the earlier age. Whether the lady inspectors who inquired two years ago into the subject on behalf of the Board were the persons best qualified for the purpose or not, their conclusion 'that the children between the ages of three and five get practically no intellectual advantage from school instruction,'<sup>2</sup> was in accordance with common-sense. It would seem that a new kind of school, of which the chief object should be the physical

about the meaning to be attached to doubtful passages when disregard of plain and wholesome directions is common.

<sup>1</sup> As to the desirability of establishing sponsors' guilds, see *C.Q.R.*, January 1907, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on Children under Five Years of Age*, Cd. 2726, p. 1.

development of the child, has become necessary. If the children have good homes and careful mothers, they may be better away from school ; but, in the crowded conditions of town life, it is almost impossible for any mother, with other children to look after, to secure the desirable amount of fresh air and good food for the young child. For the children of negligent and incompetent mothers, it is necessary to establish some form of nursery school under the care of motherly young women, not possessing advanced intellectual attainments, but having gifts fitting them admirably for this special class of work. Many of the teachers formerly known as 'Art. 68' would have been excellent for this particular duty. It is desirable that some means be devised for making the mothers attend the school once or twice a week, in order to lessen the feeling of loss of responsibility, and at the same time give them practical instruction. In the face of the action of the Board of Education and the general agreement with which it has been supported, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that children under five years of age cannot rightly have any place in the infant Sunday-school.

At the age of five, then, a new influence enters into the education of the children. Hitherto they have been subject only to the environment of their homes. The chief characteristic of the town is an unvarying uniformity of external surroundings. All the varied elements which constitute life in the country are entirely lacking. The works of God are hidden from them, and they come into contact only with the handiwork of man. Mr. Bray's volume lays considerable stress upon this aspect of the life of the town child. The street is typical of the environment of a town. 'It is the abode of irrelevant, disconnected, and casual change. Its panorama, in all the endless variations, produces no conception of a world of phenomena, related through cause and effect, and merely serves to fill the mind with a whole lumber-room of useless, though perhaps entertaining, rubbish.' Incidentally one well-known characteristic of the city-nurtured child finds here its explanation :

'In this medley of the unexpected he is continually called on to adjust his actions to some alteration of the environment.'

By frequent practice he acquires an unusual dexterity in the task. He develops a phenomenal sharpness and readiness of resource ; that rapid perception of the new accompanied by an immediate decision of how to meet it.' (p. 18.)

Moreover, not only is the town as an educational influence defective in its methods, but the curriculum is terribly narrow and confined. Repose, silence, and beauty are the impressions left by Nature, as seen in the country, upon the mind ; but in the town excitement, noise, and a kind of forlorn and desperate ugliness are the predominating features. Each has its effect upon the child, and the result is the restlessness, lack of reserve, and constant desire for change, which characterize the town child. The effects of such an environment are developed with advancing years, but with this equipment in its embryo stage the child proceeds to school. The Code lays down that the first object of the infant school is 'to provide opportunities for the free development of their minds and bodies.' Marked improvement has been made upon the mechanical methods which formerly characterized the schools, though the size of the classes still remains a serious obstacle in securing individual treatment and understanding of the infants.

When the children begin to attend the day school, they are also sent to Sunday-school. Mr. Bray considers that 'no religious institution stands in greater need of reform.' The weakness and defects of this system are generally recognized, yet no determined effort is made to improve it, although every year its importance is becoming greater in the religious teaching of the children. Piteous lamentations are made, and conferences constantly discuss 'the retention of the young under religious influences.' But why should they remain ? From the earliest years the Church has taught the children that for everything connected with their religion there is some marketable value. The material return for attendance at infant Sunday-school is a treat in a garden or open space in the summer, and a tea at Christmas with prizes. With advancing years the price is raised, but at last there comes a time when the world makes a higher bid, at all events to the lads, and quite naturally

they accept it. Though it may be regarded as a counsel of perfection, we wish that the clergy would be bold enough to abolish all prizes at least from the infant Sunday-school and treats for the school as a body, though individual teachers might be allowed to invite groups of infants to tea.

Boys should not be allowed to remain in the infant day-school after seven years of age. The move from the infants' into the big boys' or big girls' frequently synchronizes with the addition of the children to the large number who are engaged in some form of employment out of school hours. The subject has been before the public prominently for ten years. Parliamentary reports, newspaper inquiries, and, before all, Miss Adler's Committee on Wage-earning Children, have done much to enlighten public opinion, which, however, remains still apathetic. Mrs. Mackirdy's book is mainly concerned with those who work at home, and cites very bad examples of children's labour. It well deserves reading, but we fear that it is written in the exaggerated style which more often arouses opposition than enlists true sympathy. We can imagine, too, that the comment of the Hoxton girl of nearly fourteen, such as Mrs. Mackirdy vividly describes, would be more forcible than polite on learning that she was regarded as a 'baby toiler.' Under the 'Employment of Children' Act, 1903, considerable latitude is allowed to the local authority, so that by setting a standard in accordance with the best public opinion of the place, it is possible to secure a thorough administration of the law. On the other hand, the 'adoptive' system of legislation by which local authorities are left to adopt the statute passed by the Legislature, has a distinct tendency to turn into a dead letter excellent provisions inserted into the Act after much trouble and agitation in Parliament. Bylaws made by the local authorities may regulate (1) the employment of the children in any occupation, and (2) their trading in the streets. Sixty-six local authorities in England and Wales have made bylaws under the Act, but twenty-nine have only made use of the second section. Thirty-two have totally prohibited

street-trading by girls under sixteen.<sup>1</sup> The general provisions of the Act, which are applicable everywhere, require that no child shall be employed between the hours of 9 P.M. and 6 A.M., unless the local authority make special bylaws to the contrary; a child under the age of eleven shall not be employed in street-trading, and no 'half-timer' in a factory shall be employed in any other occupation. Further

'A child shall not be employed to lift, carry, or move anything so heavy as likely to cause injury to the child.'

'A child shall not be employed in any occupation likely to be injurious to his life, limb, health, or education, regard being had to his physical condition.'

The thorough enforcement of these last two provisions would protect the children from harm, and some employment is certainly better than mere playing about the streets.<sup>2</sup> It must be recognized that many of the children have neither the place, means, nor understanding to enjoy wholesome recreation. The Act of last session, which authorizes the local education authority to assist in the provision of 'vacation schools, vacation classes, play centres, or other means of recreation,' may be regarded as a natural corollary to the Act of 1903. It is not, however, to the local authorities that we should look for the ultimate solution of either difficulty. The standard of public opinion among the parents must be raised to the level of the best of them, so that they take care that their children are not employed in any harmful way, and voluntary efforts should supplement, and not supplant, the home as a place of recreation. The bylaws may provide that a young boy shall not work after 9 P.M., but they cannot secure that he will go to bed

<sup>1</sup> Return No. 249, dated July 15, 1907, to an order of the House of Commons.

<sup>2</sup> The Medical Officer (Education) of the London County Council after a careful inquiry into the circumstances of four hundred boys came to the conclusion 'that a moderate amount of light work up to twenty hours weekly if distributed over the week does no evident harm, but above this, signs of ill-health show themselves,' and there must not be more than five hours on any one day. (See Report for year ended March 31, 1906, No. 997, pp. 21-22.)

at that hour in a room with the window open, and so obtain a good night's rest. Dr. Macnamara himself has written that 'this employment of children out of school hours is in many cases probably the result of the thoughtlessness [of parents] that is consequent upon established custom.'<sup>1</sup> The bylaws may also provide that a boy shall not be engaged for more than two hours in delivering milk in early morning, but they cannot secure for him a suitable breakfast before he goes to school. Light employment may act as a substitute for healthy exercise if a boy is properly fed, so that between the working and feeding of school children there is a close connexion. The medical inspection, which Parliament has now authorized the education authorities to undertake, will provide a considerable amount of information upon both points. Expert evidence will gradually enable a line to be drawn between those children who are suffering from criminal negligence and others whose parents are merely incompetent but ready to make adequate provision for their children's welfare, so far as the means are at their disposal. Prosecution of the worst offenders in the neglect of their children by failing to provide proper food would be one of the most potent measures, as Sir John Gorst recognizes (p. 80) for arousing parents to a sense of their duty.

Improper food probably renders quite as many children incapable of fully developing their physical powers as the want of any kind of food. It has been noted how the babies suffer from this cause, and any worker among children can supply instances. It appears likely that even local authorities in providing meals may have a good deal to learn as to the most suitable and economical dishes.<sup>2</sup> The Act of 1906, under which they receive the necessary authority, is a compromise between the views represented

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Chief Officer of the Public Control Department of the London County Council on the Employment of Children out of School Hours, 1900, No. 468, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The inquiries of a special Commissioner of the *Lancet*, reprinted in pamphlet form, contain an amount of interesting information. He visited several towns on the Continent to obtain particulars as to the provision of free meals by the municipalities.

by Sir John Gorst, who holds (c. v.) that it is impossible for the State to undertake the task of feeding all the children and the attitude, of which Mr. Bray is an able exponent, that free meals for all are good (p. 316). The latter argues (p. 314) that 'if we desire to strengthen the family relation, we must endeavour to lessen the burdens of parenthood and so enlarge the possibilities of happiness,' and maintains that there is 'a very large margin of safety, where the State may interfere with altogether beneficent results.' It is impossible to discuss the subject in all its bearings, but we must attempt to deal with it in its immediate effect upon the children. Mr. Bray would relieve the working-class mother, whose life of struggle he so graphically describes (pp. 310-311) of the burden of feeding her children during the school day. We do not think that she desires in the least to be relieved, and we are sure that it would be inimical to her children's interests. Food is the first thing which the children recognize to be a necessity of life. They can appreciate and understand some of the parental difficulties and self-denial in making the necessary provision. They are keen to take their part in the struggle, and the endeavour calls forth on both sides just those feelings of love and mutual service which strengthen the bonds of family life. The action of the State can never draw those qualities from the children, and the fact that it shares in a work which their instinct teaches them belongs peculiarly to the parents is bound ultimately to have a harmful effect. It is true that the State has a moral responsibility towards the children in securing that compulsory education does not involve physical hardship ; but the channels through which that responsibility may be exercised are diverse. The London County Council have adopted a wise course in constituting Children's Care Committees to deal not only with this matter, but also the provision of boots, &c., and to become acquainted with the conditions of the children's homes. They seek to ascertain causes, so that the gradual extinction of the defective conditions may be regarded as the final solution aimed at, rather than the perpetual continuance and extension of the feeding of children by the

municipalities. The Committee on Physical Deterioration stated in somewhat clumsy language :

'That the general trend of opinion was to the effect that the ultimate means of dealing with the difficulty [of feeding school children], lay in the development of the forces of social education and in the operation of the great body of ameliorative tendencies which would raise the general condition of the poor, and foster a sense of parental responsibility, spreading knowledge and enlightenment in their train.'<sup>1</sup>

Released from the necessity to work, and having well nourished bodies, the children are in need of wholesome recreation. At no time are the town children so hopelessly miserable as in the last week of the summer holidays. Their small resources have been exhausted long before, and there is nothing else to do but to wish for the reopening of the schools. Forty-three thousand children were sent away by the Children's Country Holidays Fund, which does a splendid work, though we cannot go so far as to say with Mr. Bray that 'judged from the strictly religious point of view, it is one of the greatest missionary agencies in London at the present time' (p. 246). It is one thing to take or send children into the country, and it is entirely another matter to lead them to appreciate its beauties and wonders. The boy who was taken to admire the view from Hindhead and merely said, 'There ain't nothing to do or see up 'ere,' was a representative and not an exceptional individual. Two bodies of workers are needed as auxiliaries to the Country Holidays Fund. One group would assist the parents of town children, who desire and can afford to pay for the lodging, to find suitable homes for them in the country. By that means parents who avail themselves of the organization and are now helped from its funds without being in need of the assistance, would have no excuse for their action. Secondly, bodies of cultivated workers are required in the villages to teach the children how to enjoy themselves and benefit from their change of environment. The elementary schools seem to be singularly defective in training the powers

<sup>1</sup> *Report, Cd. 2175*, p. 66.

of observation,<sup>1</sup> and even if the children notice things on their own account there is no one at their side very often to answer questions. Many more children than formerly are sent away by their parents, if not into the country at least to a relative in another part; but the number who remain in the town for the summer holidays is tremendous, and for some the holidays are made the occasion of overwork. Vacation schools are an interesting importation from America<sup>2</sup> through the energy of Mrs. Humphry Ward. They are thoroughly appreciated by the children, and it is well to note that definite religious instruction may be made quite as acceptable as any other item in the curriculum. At the holiday school in the United Girls' Schools' Settlement, Camberwell,

'lessons on Church history, in ancient and present times, formed a regular part of the scheme. In the morning the elder children were taught on the introduction of Christianity into Japan; the younger ones, into England. In the afternoon, the eldest classes learnt the history of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, while the little ones had stories from the "Pilgrim's Progress." These lessons were given at the end of morning and afternoon school, and the willing attention paid to them proved that there is something to be said for Milton's suggestion, that religious knowledge should be given as a recreation.

'By the kindness of three neighbours . . . short examinations were held at the end. In the story of the Mission to Central Africa, the rough boys pounced upon Livingstone, Mackenzie, and Steere as their special favourites, and grew quite at home in the story of the Suahili printing press, and the transformation of the slave market in Zanzibar.'<sup>3</sup>

Much more might be done in this and other ways to brighten the lives of the children if voluntary workers were

<sup>1</sup> In an interesting report upon a somewhat novel examination scheme under the auspices of the Education Committee of the West Riding of Yorkshire it is stated that 'this is a very grave defect, perhaps the most serious defect in English education at large at the present moment.' Cf. *The Times*, August 31, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the Chicago Summer Vacation Schools see *Parliamentary Paper*, 1904, Cd. 2237, i.

<sup>3</sup> From a description of the school by Miss Nunn, Head of the Settlement, in the *Southwark Diocesan Chronicle*, October 1905.

forthcoming to take the necessary intelligent interest and devote themselves whole-heartedly to an occupation which would frequently provide them with real pleasure. It is much to be regretted that the Church does not make better use of the holidays to gather the children together in church for common worship and instruction.

During term time home-work fills up some of the vacant hours, but in neighbourhoods where home life is practically non-existent it is useless to expect any from the children. The Church and other religious bodies provide through various organizations some recreation and change. There is a great need for the systematizing of these good works. It is extremely doubtful whether the children derive any advantage from attendance, for example, at a Band of Hope of the usual irregular and undisciplined type, and it is certain that the Church which provides it does not gain anything in their estimation. There are many well-meaning and good-hearted people ready to do this kind of work, but they do not recognize that zeal without knowledge is an inadequate equipment for the education of children. Very often they do not even appreciate that the hours of recreation have a share almost as great as the hours of instruction as educational influences in the lives of the children. By assisting voluntary workers to secure match-pitches for cricket, hockey, and football in addition to areas for practice games, the London County Council have exercised an educative influence in securing method and management where there might otherwise be chaos and disorder.<sup>1</sup>

The day's excursion, which is the common form adopted by the Church, with other religious bodies, to give so-called enjoyment to the children, is severely and by no means unjustly condemned by Mr. Bray. 'It serves as an occasion to throw off the little self-control the children possess, while it teaches them once again that disorder is a necessary

<sup>1</sup> In this connexion may be mentioned the work of the London Playing Fields Society, which, since 1890, has rendered admirable service, though like other organizations of a similar character it no longer caters quite for the class which it was founded in the first instance to benefit.

accompaniment of enjoyment.' The children 'are discharged into one of those spots which, neither rural nor urban, are attached to the outskirts of a town . . . the day closes as it begins, in a pandemonium of noise tempered perhaps by a feeling of utter fatigue.' Mr. Bray urges that the day in the country 'must be looked on in the light of an essentially religious ceremony, treated as a sort of pilgrimage to a holy spot, and organized with as much care and attention to detail as are given to the services of the Church' (pp. 252-254). A step in that direction is secured when the children begin the day by assembling in church for a short service. It can be clearly put before them that the object is the enjoyment of the whole school or society, which is to be secured by the directions given for that purpose and by the endeavour of every unit to consider the happiness of others. With an adequate staff of teachers it is possible to find many opportunities during the day to assist the children quite naturally to carry out this leading principle, and at the same time give them far more real enjoyment than if they were left to their own wretched methods. The seaside is better than the semi-country place, because the children are more likely to depend upon the sea than upon extraneous occupation for their pleasure, but the size of these expeditions seems to be an insuperable objection, which can only be mitigated by splitting up into small groups, on arrival at the place of destination, under the direction of teachers. Whatever other purpose the day may have, it is certain that it is one of the finest opportunities open to the Sunday-school teacher to become really acquainted with the children, and many an unexpected trait of character will be revealed during the day.

The period about the age of eleven or twelve years tends more and more to become an important time in the lives of the children. Mr. Millis, in his paper dealing with the problems of trade education, read before the British Association, said that 'at about eleven or twelve the children in all elementary schools should begin to divide into groups according to talents shown, and, within the elementary school, work with a bias to this or that direc-

tion.'<sup>1</sup> In other words, the child at that age may be expected, if properly taught, to have some sense of vocation, and parents with a real understanding of their children will have some idea of the gifts with which the child is endowed for the battle of life. It is by a wise arrangement, therefore, that many who work the system of the Catechism have chosen this age for the move into the Greater Catechism, though it may be doubted whether it should either coincide with or be followed shortly by Confirmation. The system of scholarships under the London County Council practically decides for a boy at this age whether his future work will be mainly with his brain or his hands.<sup>2</sup> It may not be possible in many cases to fix it more definitely, but if the religious instruction of the child at this period is leading towards Confirmation, it should be of incalculable assistance in enabling a right answer to be found to the question, 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do ? '<sup>3</sup>

At about the age of twelve, or sometimes earlier in the case of sharp children who are unwisely pressed forward by the teachers, there begins to be a distaste for school work. This, combined with the natural restlessness strengthened by the effect of the urban environment, creates a longing for the fourteenth birthday to arrive, when the children may leave school without even saying good-bye. The transfer to a secondary school or higher-grade school stays this impulse by creating new interests, and may even arouse a desire to achieve hitherto unthought-of heights of scholastic attainment. But the scholarships must not be made too cheap. They fail entirely of their purpose if they do not draw forth the latent energies of the child. The aim of the London County Council's scheme of scholarships is to provide 'without limit of number adequate opportunities for all children considered intellectually fit to profit by

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, August 8, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> 'Those who do not win scholarships must be regarded as, in the main, persons who will have to depend on their manual dexterity to gain a livelihood.'—*Apprenticeship Report*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> For the connexion between religion and the work of daily life as one objective of Confirmation, see the Rev. J. P. Maud's handbook on *Preparation for Confirmation*, c. vii,

secondary school education.'<sup>1</sup> To some holders of the scholarships and their parents the term 'intellectually fit' means merely of normal capacity and industry. In the case of girls, the scholarship is sometimes regarded as a satisfactory business transaction to allow them to stay at school during the additional year for the sake of the maintenance grant, when otherwise they would probably be loafing about at home, 'helping' mother. If the scholarship system is to be further extended so as to 'supplement the earnings of the parent in order that in the person of the child the community may obtain a more useful, because better trained and instructed, citizen,'<sup>2</sup> care will have to be taken that the character as well as the mind of the child makes an adequate return for the value of the scholarship.

In an entirely different direction there is need for some caution. The dearth of teachers has led to a craze, amounting almost to a panic, to secure recruits. The result is that the work is thrust upon girls who have no vocation. Sometimes, after proceeding some distance with their training by the aid of scholarships, they fail to make a necessary advance and are obliged to seek other work. It is not quite satisfactory to find the teachers placing their profession before the children without any endeavour to impress upon them the nobility of the calling.

The scholarship children are a small proportion of the whole number. For the remainder, their school attendance ceases at the age of fourteen. The boy does not wait until the end of the term. He is free. Force of habit, the prevailing custom, lack of time and knowledge, are all in various degrees accountable for the readiness with which parents, even otherwise well-disposed, allow him to go forth and seek a job for himself in an entirely haphazard way. There are innumerable openings.

'Here we are, all of us, demanding an endless number of tiny jobs to be done on our behalf. Every year multiplies these demands, increasing the pace at which the jobs can be done, and the number of them that can be crowded into the time. We learn to expect more and more conveniences at our elbow,

<sup>1</sup> *Apprenticeship Report*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

by which communication may be made, business transacted, messages despatched, parcels transferred, news brought up to date, transit hastened, things of all kinds put under our hand. We touch buttons ; press knobs ; ring bells ; whisper down telephones ; keep wires throbbing with our desires ; bustle and hustle the world along. And all this, in the end, means *boys*.<sup>1</sup>

There is hardly a reader of these pages, resident in a town, who at some time or other during the day does not benefit by the services of a boy. There is the boy who brings the morning newspaper. He may perhaps be still at school, but the boy at the bookstall has left school. There is the boy who delivers the groceries, another who comes with the carrier, a third who carries a message, and so on indefinitely. They come and go. We make use of them for two or three of the most important years of their lives. Then they are cast aside and a fresh batch takes their place. The boys can enter any one of these employments without trouble. It is a means of earning money. Very often there is variety and a considerable amount of leisure. Neither parents nor boy give one thought to the future ; or, if they do, it is merely to relegate it to the decision of chance. At the age of sixteen or seventeen he has forgotten the little amount of learning that he possessed, and has acquired in its place rough and clumsy ways. His aspirations, if he had any, have been stifled, so that he has no desire to look upward ; and his talents, through lying idle, are practically useless. Clothes and food have become more expensive items, and he is driven to take any job that he can obtain, and is fortunate if in the process he does not sink below the social level of his father.

A special reference must be made to the position of the State in this matter. It is a disgraceful thing that the Post Office and other departments of the Civil Service should be among the most serious offenders as employers of labour. The present Postmaster-General recognizes the

<sup>1</sup> Thus writes Canon H. S. Holland in the preface to Mr. Gibb's admirable little book. The subject is also dealt with very well by Mr. Cloete in *Studies of Boy Life*.

evil, and is endeavouring to cope with it.<sup>1</sup> Telegraph and express messages are necessities in these days, and only boys can be used to convey them. But it is none the less a very serious matter that large numbers are turned adrift after their services have been used for a few years without any equipment for life or any future before them.

For the girls there is often a period of idleness at home. It affords a certain amount of relief to the mothers, and there is a greater tendency for the girl to wait until something comes to her through the instrumentality of a friend or neighbour. Equally in her case there is no thought of ascertaining for what occupation she is best fitted, and in the mind of parent and child, perhaps unexpressed, there lies the thought that the haven of matrimony affords an ultimate refuge. In increasing numbers, however, girls are undertaking some definite work with a view to permanency, and in some directions are being substituted for boys.

For both boys and girls the solution of the difficulty lies along the same lines. Parents and children must be taught to recognize that the attractively high wage of unskilled labour as a start is false economy, and in order to obtain a prospect of permanent and progressive advancement the years following the end of the school life must be years of education for the development of the faculties, which should have been aroused in the school period. It is difficult for the parents to ascertain the best way to give the child a really satisfactory start in life. Committees<sup>2</sup> have been formed for their assistance, but we would also direct attention to Mr. Gibb's final conclusion that there is no social work more worth the doing than 'to lay a friendly hand on the shoulder of one lad here and there and guide his feet as he enters the work of life.' By some means or other definite instruction to fit the boy for his future career

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Buxton has described the position of the boy messengers as 'the blot on the escutcheon of the Post Office.' Cf. *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. clxxiv. 385, May 9, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Dalglish, Secretary of the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association, 55 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W., will give information as to existing London and provincial committees and the best methods of starting new ones.

must be arranged for him to undertake immediately he leaves school, either at technical or evening class or Polytechnic. Habits of study which he may have acquired must be further trained and developed. The report of the London County Council's committee, of which Mr. Bray was chairman, shews admirably how the problem may be attacked as a whole and also the directions in which efforts of bodies or individuals may be concentrated; but the obstacles are so great that the surest way for those who have the courage to undertake the task is to follow Mr. Gibb's advice and endeavour to uplift a single boy by co-operating with his parents to set him on the right path according to the special circumstances of each child.

As the boys and girls leave school and go out to work their spare time affords them opportunities for social intercourse. Their relationship shews an increasing lack of restraint due to the disappearance of the habit of self-control, which Mr. Bray notes as 'perhaps the most remarkable effect of an urban environment.' Girls with decent homes are permitted to roam the streets in a manner which was never allowed to their mothers. Want of self-control leads to loss of self-respect, and nothing is more damaging to the girl. Miss Montagu has a paper devoted to the subject in *Studies of Boy Life*, with the title, 'A Girl in the Background,' although 'as a rule girls run after boys, and in due course the boys turn and run after girls.' The hours of leisure which, as we have seen, should be devoted for the most part to some form of occupation to advance their prospects in their daily work, are entirely wasted in a demoralizing looseness of behaviour. The prospects for the whole future life of both boys and girls may be determined very largely by two things—(1) whether they give way entirely to the natural desires for society of the opposite sex, and (2) whether they are ready to devote a considerable portion of their spare time to the advancement of their education. Miss Montagu's remarks are equally true for boys when she writes: 'The girls who have been encouraged by their teachers to develop their individuality, and those who have become skilled workers in honourable trades,

are not likely to throw away their chance of complete self-realisation in order to enjoy promiscuous flirtation' (p. 246). As they grow older the common reference to a girl who is going to be married as having 'got him at last' is too near the truth to be pleasant. To neither young men nor maidens is there any real thought of the seriousness and responsibility of matrimony. Both are restless and want a change, and marriage is the normal means to obtain it. In many cases among the lower grades of those whose lot we have been considering it is certainly 'taken in hand, unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding.'

Where marriage signifies to the contracting parties the mystical union of Christ and His Church, there is the religious foundation upon which to build a life for the child. Religion is the pregnant force that can alone transform the whole life and overcome all obstacles.<sup>1</sup> It must be there from the very beginning as the foundation of home life and the cementing power to unite the family. Amid the degrading circumstances of town life it is often very difficult for religion to have its rightful place. But the child of a God-fearing mother to whom the birth of a child has always been a subject of prayer, starts with an asset in life of which no one can appraise the value. The meanest house and environment in any town cannot deprive the child of the grace of God thus obtained by a mother's prayers. To that mother the service of thanksgiving after child-birth has a real meaning, and she will not fail to bring her babe to be baptized at the earliest opportunity, when others will join

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Bosanquet and Mr. Bray differ strongly as to the capacity of character to overcome the conditions of the environment. They also hold divergent views as to the constituent elements which form family life. In his book, Mr. Bray appears to have adopted some of Mrs. Bosanquet's comments upon his essay in *Studies of Boy Life*. We agree with Mrs. Bosanquet that family life is something deeper than he suggests and cannot be diagnosed quite so easily as he has attempted in his pages, so that she is a safer guide upon this subject. Reference should also be made to Mrs. Bosanquet's volume *The Strength of the People* (Macmillan, 1902), especially c. vi., 'The Importance of the Family.'

with the parents in praying ‘that this child may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning.’ Where there is religion in the home and the will to overcome obstacles, then the way is found for its exercise. The claims of daily work upon the father and other members of the family may prevent him from taking his place as the head of the family to ‘read prayers,’ but he will find a way to gather them together as one body for devotions upon Sunday. The child who is born into a family of this character finds himself in an environment which has had and continues to have an influence stronger than that of the town, for ‘where the spiritual forces are well balanced within the family, then out of all the stress and strain arise qualities of mutual respect, forbearance, and self-control.’<sup>1</sup> From his earliest years the child is taught to believe that at the background of all the trivialities of the day’s routine the due performance of his share leads to the establishment of God’s Kingdom here on earth, and that he may rightly regard himself as one among those who work for the realization of that Kingdom.

Mr. Bray contends that it is impossible to teach the child the lessons of religion amid the surroundings of the town. ‘At present they lack the vigour of actual experience; and actual experience from some quarter or other they must have. . . . The first duty of religion is therefore to bring the child of the town into the country and leave him there for Nature to do her work’ (pp. 245–6). Mr. Bray must have forgotten that he had previously written, ‘The spectator may note and regret the gaps in the child’s experience which the environment of the town fails to fill; but they are gaps to him and not to the child’ (p. 53). His contention is based upon the assumption that to see in the environment of the town ‘the witness of any vast and unfathomable power passes the wit of man.’<sup>2</sup> But in order to accept this hypo-

<sup>1</sup> H. Bosanquet, *The Family*, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting contrast with this opinion is afforded by a recent sermon preached in St. Paul’s by Canon H. S. Holland: ‘The revelation which reaches us through the towns must have more to say to us than we can get out of lone hills and shining seas and running waters’ (*Church Times*, September 6, 1907).

thesis it is necessary to believe that every child born into the town is placed at a perpetual disadvantage in the sight of God until such time as he can be transplanted into the country. It is, of course, painfully true that there are many forces in the town contending against the growth of religion in the child's soul. Mr. Bray has some justification for saying that

'Awe, reverence, the feeling of mystery, in short all the more characteristic emotions of religion, find in this [the towns] spirit of unrest and pettiness their most bitter foe. Religion affirms that the world is the revelation of the work of unseen forces—silent, unmeasurable, ineffable ; the town appears as the whimsical product of human energy—noisy, disordered, frivolous. Religion tells us that each hour is fraught with tragic decisions and shot with eternal significance ; the town fills the whole day with trivial actions whose effect is transient and whose meaning, if there be any, is absurd. Religion demands an arena for the struggle of immortal souls ; the town supplies a cockpit for the inane bickerings of animated puppets' (p. 244).

But we cannot believe that the town environment has 'bricked up the window of the soul' so that there is no external channel through which God reveals Himself. To the child of the country, God is a creative power. It is true that immediately around the town-bred child there is nothing to help him to a realization of that truth. But a practical illustration may shew that the necessary compensation is provided for its absence. In teaching a class of infants in the country it is quite simple to take the various parts of the dinner which they have just eaten to shew that 'All good gifts around us, Are sent from Heaven above.' They saw their fathers dig the potatoes out of the garden and know that they were 'fed and watered by God's Almighty Hand.' That is one of the things entirely outside the purview of the town-bred infant, but use may be made of the peculiar sharpness and precocity with which in most cases he is endowed. There are few things which a class of infants do with more pleasure and keenness than tracing the genesis of the food they had for Sunday's dinner. They have never heard of home-made bread, but they can trace the

loaf back through the baker, miller, &c., to the field, and so also with the vegetables. The longer distance from mother-earth to the dinner-table presents the necessary mental exercise for the town child, though not a direct revelation of God as a creative power. To him He is a controlling will, revealed through the human element which is paramount in the town. Mr. Charles Booth provides evidence on this point. ‘The saintly self-sacrificing life is that which strikes the imagination of the poor as nothing else does.’<sup>1</sup> Or we may take the negative evidence for the same truth. There is probably no greater opposing force to the advance of Christianity in towns than the lives of many who profess and call themselves Christians. The exacting conditions of modern life under which the town dweller does his work are justly regarded as a denial in many cases of the elemental truths of Christianity. But a more concrete example is provided by the visitation of death. In the town there are many more opportunities for the child to be acquainted with all the circumstances than in the country. Death is regarded as a visitation from God. Not infrequently it happens that there results a change in the life of some member of the family to which the dead person belonged. The neighbours see and note the change. Thus the town-dweller has the opportunity to recognize the presence of a power whose ways are not amenable to prediction and of whose activity the results are unlimited in extent. But whatever may be the exact means through which God reveals Himself to the individual soul, we know that the revelation is as necessary for the eternal welfare of the town-dweller as the countryman, and that he has equal opportunities of obtaining it. Only the efforts based upon that truth can hope to benefit permanently the town child. Thus it is that the literature concerning his welfare cannot be used to while away an idle half-hour, but demands the careful attention of the reader, with a full recognition of the tremendous importance of the grave problems under consideration.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Religious Influences, Life and Labour,’ in *London Summary*, p. 24, and see also p. 427.

## ART. VI.—THE SPIRIT OF PORT ROYAL.

*The Story of Port Royal.* By ETHEL ROMANES. (London : John Murray, 1907.)

PORT ROYAL, like Mary Queen of Scots, is a subject never out of date :

‘Ev’n in their ashes live their wonted fires.’

Michelet may deride it as ‘une question fort secondaire d’une petite secte catholique,’ but the verdict of humanity has been otherwise : Vinet sets forth ‘le penchant très vif que j’ai pour l’école ou pour la vérité janséniste,’ and innumerable readers have felt the same ; each in his turn pursues the subject ‘ingenti percussus amore.’ What if disciples of Voltaire or of the Jesuits laugh ; yet these two categories do not exhaust the world.

Mrs. Romanes, to whom many aspects of truth are dear, has devoted a large volume to this one. She has read the literature of the subject widely and sympathetically ; she enters minutely into the details of convent life and the emotions of the holy sisterhood (who excelled in self-analysis) ; she does justice to the great ladies who patronized the Monastery, making devotion a phase of their æsthetic life ; the saints and doctors of the party, Saint-Cyran, Singlin, Arnauld, De Saci, De Tillemont, pass across her pages ; she deals excellently with Pascal’s *Pensées*, finding their special force to be ‘in teaching us the intense earnestness, the awful seriousness of human life,’ and also ‘the exceeding folly of measuring things eternal by human measures.’ Two criticisms suggest themselves as we read, though possibly some may consider the first to be a merit. For those who desire to be taken back for a time into the atmosphere of Port Royal, to realize for themselves its life, to understand its thought and feeling, Mrs. Romanes somewhat spoils the impression by always having one eye upon the twentieth century. Quotations from Dr. Moberly, Dr. Gore, Dr. Bigg, Canon Mason, ‘our best Anglican writers,’ multiply under her pen. And, secondly, like

Sainte-Beuve or Mr. Beard, she breaks off utterly at the destruction of the Monastery, seeing in that catastrophe at once 'the destruction of the material buildings and the crushing out a great spiritual movement.' In this we are quite at issue with her, as we hope to shew. The spiritual movement could not be crushed out so easily.

But we are grateful to Mrs. Romanes for her ready sympathy—no soul is too homely, no detail too trivial for her notice. By this she herself becomes an '*ami de la vérité*'; in her book there breathes throughout what has been called 'fragrance from the vanished walls of Port Royal.'

## I.

Certainly Port Royal was a material reality—a Cistercian abbey of the thirteenth century, founded by a Crusader in a wooded valley near Versailles. Round the Gothic church, narrow, lofty, cruciform, with a stone vault, other buildings were grouped as the monastery grew. It became very worldly in the evil days of the 'Wars of Religion,' but was reformed in 1609 under the headship of Marie-Angélique Arnauld, who when quite a child had been appointed abbess through her grandfather's influence with Henri IV. Little by little monastic poverty was resumed and a spirit of inward peace grew up. As the fame of the community spread sisters were sent thence to reform other houses, and in 1619 they won the approval of St. Francis de Sales, who paid them a visit. The Mère Angélique sought and obtained two boons of king and pope—one, that she might resign the headship and the abbess be elected every three years; a second, that the house might be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Cîteaux. The reason for the latter change was that a confessor for the monastery had to be chosen from the Cistercian Order, and a good one could not be got. Her experience generally was that monkish confessors behaved as valets or as tyrants, urged the monastery into lawsuits, or gave rise to worse scandals; so that the Abbess was glad to come under the authority of the Archbishop of Paris. After a time began to be felt

the powerful spiritual influence of M. de Saint-Cyran, the lifelong friend and associate of Jansenius, bishop of Ypres. Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, titular abbé de Saint-Cyran, and Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, had agreed to work together to recall the almost forgotten doctrine of Grace and to counteract Ultramontane and Jesuit theology. Their topics were the glory of unfallen humanity, the utter corruption wrought by the Fall, the need of conversion, the virtue of Christ's redeeming blood, the efficacy of grace, the power of suffering to cleanse, and all these as set forth by St. Augustine. In the same week in May 1638 Saint-Cyran's activity was cut short by a dungeon (Richelieu suspected his innovating spirit and threw him untried into Vincennes) and that of Jansenius by sudden death. But Saint-Cyran still, under many difficulties, exercised an apostolate by letter. He was released by the Cardinal's death, after five years, for a few brief months before his end; while Jansenius left behind material for a thick volume entitled 'Augustinus,' which appeared in 1640 clothed with due privileges and approbations.<sup>1</sup> The seed they sowed and the enemies they made both lived on after them.

In the Monastery of Port Royal, in the Community of the Oratory, among some great ladies and nobles, more widely among theologians, men of business, lawyers, physicians, heads of families, humbler folk, the new doctrine (old, indeed, as well as new) took fast hold, emerging as what Dean Church calls 'the greatest birth of the French Church.'

In 1626 the whole community was transferred to Paris, and a house built in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, which was called Port Royal de Paris. It still stands as a maternity hospital in the Rue de la Bourbe, and part of the church, built in 1646, remains in use—a fine classical building with a dome. When outsiders came to the ceremony of laying the first stone of the church, they were scandalized to find texts of Scripture painted on the cloister walls, 'comme au temple de Charenton.' In this church M. Singlin preached

<sup>1</sup> Jansenius was 'one of the most close and faithful of all the exponents of the system of St. Augustine' (*Christian Remembrancer*, January 1856).

his celebrated sermon on St. Augustine's day, for which he was suspended by the Archbishop for two months, though his audience, including five bishops, a marshal, and a duke, had been much edified; here M. de Saci said his first Mass and Henri Arnauld was consecrated bishop of Angers; here took place the miraculous cure wrought by the Holy Thorn, which retrieved Port Royal's failing fortunes for awhile; here M. Singlin used to preach in Lent the sermons of which it was said that there was always someone converted (one day it was Pascal); here Mère Angélique carried a relic in procession with dying hands; and here, too, she was seen by two sisters who were watching at night to rise from her tomb, pass up the choir, sit down in the abbess' stall, and summon before her the intrusive abbess—but all passed in dumb show.

Port Royal des Champs, the original house, had been left deserted for twenty years; but the Mother refused to sell the stalls of the choir or to pull down the buildings, and the church was kept up and used for service. After 1640 'solitaries' begin to appear—persons who retired to the neighbourhood, under serious impressions, to lead a devout life. Boys, too, were taken by them as pupils, and as a result later on grew up the 'Écoles de Port Royal.' In 1648 Mère Angélique returned with a few sisters, the community remaining divided between the two houses. She repaired and enlarged the church and raised the floor eight feet, for in the course of ages the soil around had risen so much that the floor was always damp. On the day of the Mère's return the bells were rung, the 'solitaries' sung Te Deum, and a number of the neighbouring poor assembled in the court, among them old women who had known her when she lived there twenty years before. At first she gave the poor whatever they asked, but soon found it wiser to get M. Pallu, the doctor, to inform her of cases. For the workmen employed on the repairs she provided dinner daily, with a spiritual reading.

During the few prosperous years lodgings were built round the monastery for friends of high and of low degree. In the wars of the Fronde a wall was built round for defence,

and many fugitives came in for shelter. The church was filled with the household goods of poor neighbours, the court crammed with their cattle and poultry. The Mother made soup for these poor people, and let them in at all hours, sending out soup and medicine also to soldiers who were encamped near. In 1664–1669 the house was turned into a prison; for the sisters who stood out against persecution were sent back thither from Paris, and forbidden the Sacraments until they should sign the condemnation of Jansenius as a heretic, which they refused to do. During this time of deprivation of all spiritual aids M. Hamon, the doctor, was the only friend allowed to enter, and he only under much surveillance. Now and then, if the guards were not watchful, the confessor mounted at night on a tree near the garden wall, and gave spiritual instructions from that position to the sisters listening by stealth in the garden within. In 1669 the sisters who had submitted were made an independent community as ‘Port Royal de Paris,’ with an abbess of royal nomination; thus they fall under other influences and pass out of touch with the true Port Royal.

The ‘Peace of the Church’ followed, and a few years of truce; but in 1679 the King (Louis XIV) forbade any more novices to be received, and dispersed confessors, solitaries, and all connected with the place. The scholars had been sent away before. For thirty years the community gradually decreased—a slow decay, with occasional hopes of respite. The Procession of the Holy Sacrament still drew old friends of early years to share in the Festival; or they came to attend funerals, such as those of M. de Saci or of M. de Tillemont, who wished to be buried beside his schoolboy friend, laid there long years before. At M. de Saci’s funeral we are told the ecclesiastics found no words to speak, and the sisters alone sustained the chant—at the Mère Agnes’ funeral it was the sisters who failed in utterance. There, too, Racine was laid. The last abbess died in 1706; no further election was allowed, but the community continued under a prioress whom the dying abbess had nominated. The enemy, however, could not await the slow process of extinction, and in 1709 the remain-

ing sisters (twenty-two very aged women) were removed by force and imprisoned in various distant convents, where all but two shortly submitted, and all soon passed away. During the next three years (1709-1712) all the buildings were pulled down and the bones of the dead exhumed with scant reverence.

From that time to the present there has never ceased a 'culte des ruines,' with devout pilgrimages to the various sites hallowed by great memories. 'Thy servants take pleasure in her stones and favour the dust thereof' (Ps. cii. 14).

But 'let the dead bury their dead.' The true Port Royal is elsewhere, out of the reach of decay or violence, for living stones compose it,

‘Tunctionibus, pressuris  
expoliti lapides.’

It represents the love of justice and of truth; it was (says M. Faugère) 'the breath of an inward reformation which, compressed at first within the walls of a monastery, soon made its way abroad'; it was 'a return to the Christianity of primitive days by the help of prayer and of sacred books.' 'But' (as he allows) 'this aspiration towards the ideal involves always some conflict with the actual.'

## II.

We have dealt hitherto in brief outline with the external history of the community. But Port Royal was no mere reformation of convent life. It was the uprising of a fervent moral and spiritual force, accommodating itself to the forms of the Church, but opening to the soul a view of God's holiness and her own defects; absorbed in contemplation of God's sovereign power, strong in reliance on His all-sustaining grace. It produced in those who received it conversion of heart and amendment of life. Its distinguishing features were tender conscience, austere devotion, profound deference for Holy Scripture and for St. Augustine, preference for lowly tasks, value set on humble souls, reverent

regard for the dignity of the priesthood and Sacraments. Those who felt the power of these ideals were forced by adverse circumstances into a position of continual controversy, which in the end injured their usefulness and entangled them in mischievous illusions ; but that atmosphere of arid disputation was quite foreign to the better days of the movement.

It is with the spiritual side of the teaching of Port Royal that we shall chiefly concern ourselves in the present article.

What do Port Royal writers say about the spiritual life ? First of all must come serious conversion to God : ' put in order the inward house of the soul by sincere repentance ; till this is done, nothing is done.' The Christian life is made up of humility, of patience, of entire trust in God ; or, more briefly, it consists in bearing with troubles caused by others and with sufferings that God sends. ' When once converted, never look back : never turn to the thought of past sins that have once been repented of and forsaken ; never give up trusting in God.' This note of hearty confidence in God is a special mark of Port Royal teaching. Again :

' Lead (so far as possible) a stable and uniform life ; never be unemployed ; never change your place or work unless God shews you clearly that it is His will you should do so. Keep to the way marked for the faithful generally, not going off into special or exceptional paths of devotion. Never give up a friend whom God has given you nor a good work that has once been seriously taken in hand. The mind of man is naturally unsettled, and needs to be sustained by a fixed plan of life, that we may know always what is to be done next, and not be carried away by our natural unsteadiness.' ' Wisely has God ordained that the life even of righteous men should be so full of trials, liable to so many mistakes, surrounded by so many snares, tossed with so many dangers, besieged by so many cares, for which no human foresight can provide, from which no human skill or strength can deliver.' ' We must realize the poverty of our soul, yet never forget that God is our Father and our Friend ; we must work out our salvation courageously, trusting in His unfailing help. God chooses for the heirs of salvation certain persons as instruments whereby He Himself teaches and

guides them. Not only does God appoint the successes and blessings that befall, but also the disasters and the sufferings.' 'Let my soul be in peace, and I will fear nothing that man may do. My joy should be most of all in the witness of my own conscience and in the knowledge of sacred truth—of these two precious things no man can rob me.' 'Crosses, if we accept them with obedience, are the seed-plot of all sort of graces : not trouble, but prosperity, riches and honours are to be dreaded ; sickness is the ordinary means whereby God purifies from sin and prepares the soul for death.' 'If my prayers seem to be a burden, it is because I do not pray as I ought ; instead of going through formal schemes of meditation, may I not do better by contenting myself with listening to God in some book of piety, and praying after I have read any edifying words, considering them before God without any effort of mind ?' 'When our souls die, it is then we really die : a cold heart is the worst of all evils—it spoils all our service towards God.'

The very life of Port Royal is to be found in what its great teachers teach about Holy Scripture. M. de Saci's chief resource for spiritual guidance, the study which he recommended to others, the task to which he devoted his whole life, was the Bible. The preface to the translated New Testament was in his pocket when he was arrested and thrown into the Bastille. That preface is, indeed, as Nicole says, 'un morceau excellent.' It speaks of the New Testament as the principal instrument which God employs to write the law of love on Christian hearts, proves the need of a new French translation, and details the steps taken by the present translators. The new version was the work of many hands, Pascal's among others ; frequent conferences were held and corrections made. One of the co-operators looked up New Testament passages in Greek Fathers, another looked in Latin Fathers, a third examined the Oriental versions, a fourth, modern interpreters ; others attended to the literary style.

'The spirit in which to read the New Testament is entire simplicity of heart : he who seeks his salvation there will find it.' 'The Holy Word of God and the sacramental Body of Christ are to be treated with like faith and reverence, and used according to their several properties. The second is the soul's bread, to be

partaken of at due times and with fit dispositions. The first is the soul's life-giving air, which is needed at every moment of life.'

M. de Saci describes the translator's difficulties, and discusses how far it is possible to render word for word. He indicated some alternative readings in the margin, used marks to shew where the Greek text and the Vulgate differed, broke up the text with paragraphs and headings. He entreats the reader to excuse faults and to take this translation as an essay towards somewhat better. He employed his two years in the Bastille in finishing the translation of the whole Bible, which was just ready when he was released. Then he devoted the rest of his life to producing the *Bible avec explication* in thirty-three volumes. Each chapter is printed in Latin and French, with a commentary on it drawn from the Fathers, not in the method of a catena, but excellently digesting and combining the substance of what they say. From the publication of the *Book of Proverbs* on this plan (1671) the work went steadily on ; it was completed by fellow-workers some years after M. de Saci had himself passed away in 1684.

Another Port Royal work on the Scriptures is Arnauld's *Défense des Versions* (1688)—an answer to those who prohibit Christians from reading Scripture or prayers in their own tongue. He establishes by copious quotations from the Fathers the right of the laity to understand what is read or sung in church ; he recalls the ancient versions made of the Bible into various languages and those made in modern times under the auspices of theologians of Louvain ; he ridicules the reasons for which the Faculty of Paris in the sixteenth century forbade vernacular versions :

' Such as these were their reasons : they knew so little of antiquity—with them it was suspect to know Greek and almost heretical to know Hebrew. They knew so little of French ; " it is a barbarous tongue (they declared) that cannot be subjected to any rule of grammar " ; the four doctors whom Cardinal Richelieu selected knew everything except French, and vainly tried " translater les Pseaumes." Again, they said it was the heretics who insisted upon a translated Bible.'

‘But,’ says Arnauld, ‘has not the king lately expended great sums on providing New Testaments, Psalters and prayers in French for his “nouveaux convertis”? ’ He cites St. Teresa (Port Royal is very fond of St. Teresa) as owing her conversion to the perusal of St. Jerome’s *Letters* and St. Augustine’s *Confessions* put into Spanish. The decree of the Assembly of 1661 forbidding vernacular versions was obtained surreptitiously, and has never been obeyed. The Fathers invite everyone to read the Bible. They suppose a knowledge of the Bible in their hearers.

Pasquier Quesnel’s famous book, *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament* is another memorial of devotion to Holy Scripture. In its original form it circulated in the Oratory in Latin, and consisted of the Lord’s own sayings as recorded in the four Gospels, with a brief title prefixed to each saying. Then it appeared in French, with the words of Christ’s Mother added. Then the whole of the four Gospels appeared in 1671 with the title of *Abrégué de la Morale Evangélique*, the headings being changed into short reflections inserted after each verse. Next appeared the Acts, Epistles and Revelation treated in like manner. The whole book, nominally completed, grew still further; it appeared in edition after edition, it was recommended by prelate after prelate. The King’s Confessor, Père la Chaise, though a Jesuit, had it always on his table, for he said that he liked what was good wherever he found it. Bishop Colbert of Montpellier asked in 1716, when defending the book, ‘if it was allowable to withdraw it from the hands of the faithful after it had been read for forty years in the whole Church with so great edification and had been recommended by so many illustrious bishops?’ Bishop Soanen of Senez said in 1726:

‘After having so long and maturely examined the book, so far from finding it worthy of censure, I recognized that it was based on Scripture and the Fathers, was full of light and unction, fit to nourish piety and introduce readers into the spirit of Christ’s mysteries. Having always read the book before I was a bishop with the same edification with which the whole kingdom read it,

and having continued to read it ever since, I never lay it down without some increase of humility and of fervour.'

The celebrated Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, says :

'The effect of the work in its earlier form of a commentary on the Gospels only was to reproduce in our days the zeal of primitive Christians for the study of God's Word : and when the whole New Testament came out, all French-speaking countries felt the salutary effect, nor could booksellers provide copies sufficient. Archbishop de Harlay was amongst those who welcomed it.'

But when the Cardinal de Noailles, who was one of the 'Prélats approuveurs,' became obnoxious to the Jesuits, they determined to pay him out by having the *Réflexions Morales* condemned, and, indeed, to make the Pope find more than one hundred heretical propositions in it. Thus arose the celebrated Bull *Unigenitus* of Clement XI. in 1713. This Bull, says Saint-Simon, 'made so many martyrs, depopulated the schools, introduced ignorance, fanaticism and misrule, caused disorder everywhere, and established the most arbitrary and most barbarous Inquisition.'<sup>1</sup> No wonder that in this cause, as P. Perraud regretfully notes, 'with the exception of Jesuits and Sulpicians, all the religious orders in France did not fear to enter on open warfare against the authority of the Holy See.'<sup>2</sup> No wonder that, as M. Rocquain points out, 'the condemnation of express texts of St. Paul and of statements of St. Augustine and other Fathers, the Ultramontane maxims it contained, the part the Jesuits had in its composition, raised up universal outcry from Court, town and country.'<sup>3</sup> In wills of the eighteenth century a clause may sometimes be read : 'I adhere with my last breath to the appeal which divers holy bishops, learned universities, and an almost infinite number of priests and religious have put forth against the Bull *Unigenitus*.' Among writers of our own Communion who take the same side are Bishop Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Bayle St. John, *L'Oratoire*, translation, vol. ii. p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Oratoire de France*, 1865, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Esprit révolutionnaire avant la Révolution*, 1878, p. 4.

Wilson, whose *Sacra Privata* are largely drawn from Quesnel, Bishop Daniel Wilson, who adapted and republished the book with a warm commendation, and Bishop George Horne. The latter writes : ‘There is one book which I believe may be very acceptable, that is Quesnel’s *Reflections on the New Testament*. He has a great talent in speaking to the heart and applying the history of the Gospel so as to advance us in the spirit and practice of the Christian life.’<sup>1</sup> Quesnel himself died, aged eighty-five, in 1719. Like St. Paul, he was ‘in prisons frequent.’

Perhaps of all Port Royal divines the one who explains Scripture best is M. le Tourneux, in whose sermons and expositions Madame de Sévigné took especial delight. If we may presume to state our own experience of Port Royal commentators, it would be as follows : reading Nicole, we find weariness ; reading De Saci, we admire the Fathers as expounders ; reading Quesnel, we marvel at the treasures of theology which he deduces from the sacred text ; reading Duguet, we admire the width and depth of meaning, the far onlook that he finds in Scripture ; reading M. le Tourneux, we forget the commentator and learn only to believe and to adore. Le Tourneux translated the Breviary, and the translation was instantly condemned by Archbishop de Harlay (‘the Archbishop of Paris must be mad to condemn it,’ wrote Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, to Bossuet). He published also many excellent little books of practical devotion, a Life of Jesus Christ which ran through thirty editions, and, above all, his *Année Chrétienne*. This great work contains Masses for Sundays, Saints’ days, and weekdays throughout the year in Latin and French, with an explanation of the Epistle and Gospels and a brief Life of each saint who is commemorated. He lived to publish six volumes, which embrace the Christian year from Advent to the eve of Pentecost. The Holy Week was published first as a specimen, then came Lent, and finally, one by one, all the six volumes covering half the Christian year.

After the author’s sudden death (in 1686), aged only forty-six, three more volumes (ending with the Fourteenth

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. by Jones of Nayland, vol. i. p. 231.

Sunday after Trinity) were published from his papers, and four more were completed by his friends; but these latter, though faithful imitations, have not the savour of his own work. Each volume begins with the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass in Latin and in French; also the Collect, Epistle and Gospel for the season, with which are printed sequence, offertory, post-Communion, &c. The Epistle and Gospel for the season are fully and devoutly explained. Then come the Epistles and Gospels for those Saints' days which fall within the compass of the volume, with a similar (though briefer) explanation and a history of the saint. A great deal of the Old Testament is treated of, for at Easter seasons Epistles are taken from the Old Testament, and on Saturdays five lessons of some length; on most Saints' days the Epistle is taken from the Sapiential books (Canonical or deutero-Canonical), so that the choicest parts of these are treated in the course of the year. Occasionally Saints' day Epistles are from the Prophets. During Lent a large part of the Pentateuch or of the Prophets supply the daily Epistles for week-days. Holy Week and Good Friday have their own Old Testament lections. As an excellent sketch of the life of each saint accompanies his day, a good deal of Church history is taught, both of the Early and Middle Ages. The characteristic of these explanations is gravity, simplicity, sincerity: no words are wasted, no rhetoric used; in reading we quite forget the author. The great drama of the Lord's life, death, and victory; the fervent exhortations of the Apostles; the vicissitudes of Old Testament history; the depths of Old Testament wisdom; the sufferings and triumphs of saints—all these by turns supply material for thought. The soul accepts counsels, adores mysteries, appropriates prayers, resolves to follow examples. Here are Scripture and Church history arranged for the believer's daily use. How noble a task, how worthily fulfilled, according to the measure of that day's science!

But among the expositors of Holy Scripture M. Duguet produced most. Of the eighty volumes of his works (he lived and wrote till he was eighty-four, dying in 1733),

more than thirty are commentaries. His desire is to make Bible teaching illustrate Christian faith. He inclines to mystical analogies, but never forgets lessons of sound morality ; he has a great respect for the literal sense, and his notes are always modest and in good taste. On Genesis he shews most erudition, in the Passion history most eloquence ; in the Prophets he loves to find fulfilments yet to be accomplished in the restoration and conversion of Israel. The Psalms (he says) are the believer's treasure, and teach how to pray. On the mystery of the Passion Duguet is inexhaustible. No other writer brings such reverence, such insight, such tenderness to that awful subject, points out so well the contrast of sovereign power and of extreme weakness, both joined in the Person of Christ Jesus. He dwells not merely on physical sufferings, but on the Father's love, the Son's voluntary obedience, the mysteries of Divine justice. His book on the *Six Days of Creation* is very admirable, full both of the love of nature and of the love of God. We must not wholly omit his rules for interpreting the Old Testament. Here is one rule : 'Jesus Christ must be discerned wherever His Apostles discerned Him' ; a second, 'He may be discerned wherever certain characteristics are found which meet in Him only' ; a third, 'wherever the prediction far transcends the actual fulfilment of it a deeper sense lies behind' ; a fourth, 'there are certainly some passages where the predictive sense seems the only one intended' ; a fifth, 'predictions of temporal felicity never exhaust the full meaning of a promise' ; a sixth, 'there are passages where the mind is led on to a deeper sense by the inefficiency of legal covenants and privileges being declared.' There are twelve such rules in all, and he applies them with infinite versatility and knowledge of the Bible, sometimes quoting 'the illustrious M. Bossuet in his fine preface to the Apocalypse.' It is told of a Benedictine monk on his deathbed, that after hearing read the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians he said, 'That chapter is superior even to M. Duguet's eloquence'—but, still, to be compared with St. Paul is high praise.

We have briefly mentioned five great writers on Scripture, but besides these Port Royal produced innumerable expositions, preached or published, and also effected a wide circulation of New Testaments and Psalters in French. As Dean Church says, ‘It was one of the earliest tendencies and efforts of the friends of Port Royal to popularize the Bible, and to make it in their own Church the household book of devotion and religious teaching which the Protestants had succeeded in making it.’<sup>1</sup>

### III.

When they chanced to find a sympathetic bishop, such as Litolphi-Maroni at Bazas, de Buzanval at Beauvais, de Coislin at Orleans, Bossuet at Troyes, Port Royal divines were employed as superiors of the seminary, where their congenial work was to watch over and to perfect vocations to the priesthood. But they were always dismissed unceremoniously when a prelate of opposite opinions succeeded their friend. When M. Collard was superior of the Seminary at Troyes (1730-1742) he was noted for his care of the lads. He would not allow them to study during recreation time, and was grieved if their food was bad. He used to say that a priest must have at least four or five hours daily for study, besides his prayers, otherwise he would do no good. M. Collard’s extempore sermons and catechizings were wonderful, we are told, and he had the art of conversing cheerfully and pleasantly with each of his pupils, so that all his rules were kept with joy.

What has Port Royal to tell us about vocation to the priesthood and the life and work of the priest? Its annals record several cases of priests who, having made a very bad beginning in taking Orders without any real vocation, on their conversion laid aside all exercise of the ministry and lived all their days as devout and penitent laymen. But the general teaching of Port Royal to such persons is, ‘Repair what has been imperfect in your entry on the priesthood by an absolute disinterestedness: never make

<sup>1</sup> *Occasional Papers*, vol. i. p. 276.

preferment or worldly profit your aim.' These are signs that a priest has a true vocation—when he leads a good life, is charitable to the poor, stands up for truth, advances in prayer and penitence. The common temptation of clergy is to be avaricious ; there is great need for them to stand aloof from the passion for getting rich. A priest must be religious not in name and appearance only, but in spirit and truth ; it would be easier to convert a thousand Iroquois than one priest who is a lover of Babylon. The priest's most familiar tongue should be prayer, his chief object to dispose towards prayer those over whom he has influence.

'I have known (says Sainte-Marthe) priests far-famed for powers of direction, renowned confessors, who knew how to govern souls, full of illumination for others, but who cannot guide themselves. Every step they take leads them further from the truth. How sad is the lot of these learned men who are ignorant of their own condition ! How long it has been the custom to take priest's Orders without a call, to enter the cloister blindly and thoughtlessly, to seek for or buy preferment, to reduce clerical duty to the mere recitation of the Office. Ah ! while we are so imperfect we must try not to be "always the same," but beg God to give us a new heart. The priest's condition is a bondage which obliges him to serve Christ in His members ; however heavy be the chain, he must not set himself free. He is not at liberty to desert souls whom he can serve.'

And here we may quote some thoughts about preaching. The preacher should consider whether God has called him to this work, and what sort of teaching his audience need or can understand ; he must himself know the one thing needful. The most necessary subjects are to preach the Gospel and to preach charity. In the pulpit never speak of persons by name nor mark them out by personal indications ; seek to edify the simple, and nourish them with the milk of the Word without introducing any bitterness or denunciation.

In practical theology every opinion which rests on one man's authority only is sure to be wrong. The best general rule of conduct is, never to do anything which seems

wrong, and to consult conscience in all things. Instead of entering a very severe Order, would it not be best to lead a very religious life at home? A monk ought not to be a parish priest, for he is not at liberty to be wholly at the service of his parishioners. There is nothing so opposed to the spirit of priesthood as idleness; many priests, when they have said their Office and their Mass, think themselves discharged from all duty, and that they have nothing more to do but amuse themselves. If priests had the charity they ought, they would always find means of employment; if they could not preach, study, nor guide souls, they could find children to teach, or at least they could employ themselves in some handiwork and relieve the poor with the proceeds.

To say Mass rashly, or to abstain from saying Mass through lukewarmness or sloth, is equally wrong. M. de Saint-Cyran's method of guidance was, never to constrain anyone or to enjoin great mortifications, but so to touch hearts with the love of God that they grieved at having offended God and would do anything to please Him. Above all, he took great care to warn his penitents against occasions of sin. When anyone came to confession with apparent sincerity and sorrow for sin, he used to give absolution without curiously inquiring what kind of contrition it was. He recommended frequent Communion, but to communicate with the necessary disposition; to obtain this he sometimes counselled penitents to abstain for a while.

The priest should never lose sight of his Saviour, do nothing except with His guidance, have always his heart open to listen to Christ. 'I am astonished' (said Mère Angélique) 'that priests who offer Christ's Body daily should not endeavour to offer their own hearts at the same time.' She was surprised at priests who were thought virtuous being particular about their table or their lodging.

#### IV.

One other side of the teaching of the Port Royalists—the subject of evidences—demands a brief consideration. The

subject is inseparably associated in this connexion with the name of Pascal, almost to the exclusion of all others. But though Pascal is a great prophet, he is not alone ; he represents the topics, the spirit, the piety of Port Royal as a whole. His *Apology* was planned, discussed, set forth in union with his friends. He desires to shew that religion has as great marks of certainty as what the world calls most certain, most indubitable ; only, we must approach the subject with serious attention—our whole welfare depends upon it. Is there a righteous God, a Divine law, a Redeemer, a life to come, guidance by sovereign grace ? or are all these nought but dreams ? It matters exceedingly : my whole self, my whole life depends on the answer. Let me, then, bring serious attention to the search. Certainly my settlement here on earth will not last long ; all that I have is constantly slipping away, as I soon shall myself. Looking at man, I see signs of greatness, and also signs of ruin ; he is placed between two infinities ; is a reed, but a reed that thinks ; he sees only a little way on either side ; his very nature is full of contradiction and absurdities ; yet, in good faith and speaking sincerely, I cannot doubt but that he has principles of natural reason, an image of God within, a capacity for loving God. There are signs in man of a higher nature, divine endowments, a fitness for loving God and for prayer ; again, there are baffling marks of disaster and corruption.

Certainty is an affair of the heart, or of the whole nature, not a conclusion of the mere intellect ; it grows of habit, it depends on choice. The wisest venture we can make is to accept a little evidence, trust it (if the heart bids), and live by it. The honest seeker finds what he seeks ; his heart is interested in the search. If we have in us some sparks of love to God, some respect for virtue, some reverence for sacred truth, we shall see in the Holy Gospel what suits our case. Certainty, again, comes not of arguments, but of moral witness. Metaphysical arguments drawn from the nature and properties of the Divine Being, teleologic arguments based on the adaptations of nature—these have little power to touch or to hold. I want evidence that ordinary mankind

can grasp and therein find satisfaction. Above all, the sincere seeker welcomes Christ the Lord ; sees Him foreshadowed in Scriptures of old ; sees Him appear in predicted time and manner ; discerns in Him majesty veiled by obscurity, a demeanour of spotless purity, tender love, deep wisdom, only plunged in the darkness and meanness of humble life. But it is the sympathizing eye that discerns Whom it loves, and can distinguish Him. Being found, the Saviour strongly recommends Himself ; the Holy Gospels in their deep simplicity exceedingly attract ; the Passion powerfully draws hearts. Grandeurs of earth's princes and rich men, grandeur of intellect and genius, look as nothing beside Christ the Lord.

All these considerations are reinforced when I study the Bible. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is revealed there, bids me love Him, teaches spiritual religion under ceremonial figures, shews truth disengaging itself from things carnal. I rejoice to see in the Old Testament that love to God is required, a Redeemer hoped for, everlasting life shadowed forth, a universal religion in prospect. All this gradually disengages itself from Old Testament history. Ancient figures and material rewards fall off, but true Israelites find that somewhat better is meant.

All these evidences are not logically conclusive. They go but a little way, but so far they do go : the soul is helped by them to rise out of itself, and to search, though amid darkness. Also, the character of a true Christian powerfully attracts. Where else but in a true Christian can you find lasting peace, fervent charity, readiness to co-operate generously in all good works ? The Church's prayers and praises, rising up through the ages, rising up over all the world, have also a great charm.

Pascal dwells on the substance of Christianity, laying aside points of difference among believers. From the midst of the seventeenth century he looks into the far future, and discerns the approach of the age of Reason, when all established certainties will come in question. On what rest human opinion, theology, government, society ? Do their foundations bear scrutiny ? What shall we

find that can really stand and last? Faith comes in to meet these demands.

## V.

Alas! this great spiritual movement had great difficulties to face. A very learned and acute writer sums them up thus:

'Jansenism might, like the German Reformation, have been the salvation of Europe, but for two circumstances. One was that, France being then one great united monarchy, and not, like Germany, a congeries of little independent States, the facilities for crushing Jansenism with a strong hand were far greater than those for crushing the Lutheran Reformation. The chance in favour of Jansenism, in its very cradle, was the single one of its obtaining the favour of a single prince. The chances for Lutheranism were the chances of its gaining patronage from any one of many princes, whose characters were various and whose interests were divided.'

'Another circumstance adverse to the success of the Jansenist movement was that, even in order to maintain its own character, it was thrown into a fierce antagonism to the Protestant Church. Its dogmatic resemblance to Calvinism in its distinctive peculiarities could not be glossed over; and to compensate for this, its adherents were strongly tempted to even an exaggerated display of enthusiasm in behalf of other points in which they agreed with the great body of Roman Catholics. A body appealing freely for its own purposes to reason and Scripture, and yet zealous for the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the miraculous sanctity of the Holy Thorn; a body which maintained with unflinching pertinacity the necessary outward oneness of organisation in the Catholic Church, under the chair of Peter, and yet was openly at variance with the chair of Peter and separated visibly from the communion of the Western Church, wore an aspect of inconsistency which did not much recommend it to thinking minds; and thus, weak within and powerfully assailed from without, it is no wonder that it should have failed to present any strong barrier to the springtide of infidelity that was then recovering from its temporary check.'<sup>1</sup>

Enemies were many. First, the King—Louis XIV—

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Fitzgerald's *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. pp. 138-9.

who from his boyhood had grown up with the idea that Jansenism implied a dangerous independence ; he did not care for speculative questions, and laughed at learning, but he liked absolute, unreasoning obedience, and the clergy in general were but too ready to flatter him. On hearing of the submissive demeanour of the sisters at Port Royal, he said, ‘ I accept their obedience, but I am sorry that they are not of my religion.’ The King’s glory, or his amours, or his desire to gratify M. de Pomponne or Madame de Longueville, overpowered for a time his rooted dislike, but he never really laid aside his resolve to put down this spirit of independence. Still, at the last moment he sometimes drew back. Not long before the King’s death, Clement XI sent to him a brief for Cardinal de Noailles, ordering the latter to receive the Bull within a fortnight, on pain of deposition from his dignity and prosecution for heresy by the Inquisition ; but the King kept back the brief. Madame de Maintenon, in the long evenings they passed together, was never weary of reading to the King papers about Jansenist plots ; nor would she let him, as he drew towards his end, make any change. In the first few months of the Regency royal power seemed to have changed sides ; the Cardinal’s grass-grown court was again thronged by courtiers, and the Bastille emptied of Jansenist prisoners. If the Regent had taken the advice of the Duc de Noailles and the Duc de Saint-Simon, and boldly supported the appellant bishops, he would have had all France at his back, but political and dynastic considerations decided him to take up again Louis XIV’s policy. Cardinal Dubois, as Prime Minister, excused himself for not imprisoning more of the Jansenists than he did by saying that they were so abstemious and so retiring in their habits that prison life was no punishment to them. In France the royal power was a persistent enemy : where Joseph II or Leopold ruled, in Austria and in Tuscany, the case was otherwise.

A second foe was the Society of Jesus. The religious ideals of the Jesuits and of Port Royal were quite incompatible. Once, it is true, in the early days of the Mère

Angélique's reform, P. Suffren, S.J., held a retreat at Port Royal, 'whereby all the house was renewed'; but such tokens of goodwill soon ceased. Jesuit theology was quite at issue with the democratic character of Port Royal—with its insistence on the powers of the episcopate, its reduction of Papal absolutism to a strictly limited headship—no less than with the methods of Port Royal divines in the confessional, their strictness in requiring moral fitness for the Sacraments, their exaltation of individual responsibility and of the Bible as a guide, and their preference for ancient theologians over modern. Jansenius said, speaking of the Rule of Faith, 'arbitror Sacrae Scripturae libris, conciliis et primorum saeculorum patribus nos contentos esse debere.' To all this view of things the Jesuits were in entire opposition; also they were jealous of the competition of Port Royal in education and in influencing the great. Pascal recognized his true foes when, in the fourth Provincial letter, he turned straight on the Society and began to deal it remorseless blows. As they furnished the King's confessor, the Jesuits had the nomination to almost all bishoprics, and filled the sees of France with their partisans. Rarely was a bishop appointed without their concurrence. Yet it was so in one notable instance, when De Noailles was made Archbishop of Paris. Towards the close of Louis XIV's reign the conflict between Jesuits and Jansenists was at its height. The Cardinal suspended all Jesuits in his diocese with the exception of the King's confessor Père Tellier only (him he allowed under protest). He said he could not trust them, and that they allowed their scholars to approach the Sacraments while living in habitual sin and constant corruption. The Jesuits retaliated by excluding him from Court. This warfare never ceased till, after the middle of the century, the Jesuits had to fight for their own existence against the sovereigns of Europe, who required their suppression. It is scarcely necessary to recall the censures passed upon them by Pope Clement XIV in the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*. To the heroic side of the Company of Jesus, who evangelized the New World and the East by countless noble lives and patient deaths,

to the achievements of Jesuits in education or in science, Port Royal never did justice. Closely knit to the Jesuits was the party of Fénelon, Port Royal's most subtle and unrelenting enemy—an enemy, too, with such dazzling gifts. His last days were chiefly spent in arranging with Père Tellier how to root out Jansenism by deprivations and imprisonments; he had never forgiven the condemnation of the *Maximes des Saints*.

Their third enemy was the Pope; but not the Pope personally, for often the Pope was not unfriendly to the disciples of St. Augustine. In Innocent XI they saw in the chair of Peter a Pope whose ideals were their own. The Bishop of Castoria, in his *Amor Paenitens* (a strongly Jansenist book, which enforces the need of contrition to obtain pardon, and shews that in the reception of all Sacraments is involved a resolution of obedience to the Gospel), claims in his doctrine to follow Pope Innocent XI, 'whose representative he is in the Low Countries and to whose judgement he willingly submits his writings.' On the other hand, the King's Procureur-Général bitterly complains of the same Pope as making common cause with the Jansenists and loading them with favours. It was not individual Popes, but the spirit of the Roman Curia, that was firmly set against Port Royal. That Court was hostile then as ever to the stirring of speculative questions, but gladly embraced opportunities of exalting the Pope's authority, even of extending it to decide matters of fact. It did not aim at the re-affirmation of ancient doctrine, but at the enforcement of blind obedience; also it claimed to supersede the ancient independence of the episcopal order. Having to bear the heavy burden of infallibility, Papal authority is never in theory able to withdraw or correct its own past decisions. The declaration that the five propositions were contained in the *Augustinus*, and were intended by Jansenius, having been once made the standard of Catholicity, could never be altered—later on, not five, but 101 propositions were imposed on believers. Dr. Owen (Cromwell's Dean of Christ Church), in his remarkable preface to Theophilus Gale's *True Idea of Jansenism* (1669), after

commenting on the methods of the Papal Court in giving and enforcing dogmatic decisions, says: 'Strong delusion doth assuredly possess the minds of those who can believe that such lies have any footstep or foundation in the religion of Jesus Christ.' The sisters of Port Royal, when they had declared their absolute agreement with the Pope on all questions of doctrine, were threatened that, unless they declared their agreement with the Pope's decision that these doctrines were taught by Jansenius, they were *ipso facto* heretics, cut off from salvation, unfit for the Sacraments or for Christian burial. The same treatment was applied to all those who made scruples in accepting the Papal condemnation of P. Quesnel. When some French bishops proposed to examine and approve the *Unigenitus* as being judges of doctrine together with the Pope, Clement XI absolutely refused, his object being to make bishops merely the ministers and executors of his decrees.

It is not strange that, with such enemies, Port Royal doctrine found it hard to exist; what is strange and wonderful is the way in which its adherents lived and fought with such persistence in defence of their principles.

Here are some of the theological positions anathematized in the *Unigenitus*: Man is nothing at all apart from Divine grace: contrition is a necessary part of true repentance: servile fear is of no use except so far as it restrains the hand from sin: either the love of God or else the love of self rules the heart exclusively: original righteousness is a divinely given property of our nature when un fallen: the Church of God is a mystical body, consisting of Christ the Head and all true believers united with Him: the Church in these latter days is obscured by corruptions and errors: habitual sinners should not be admitted at once to the Holy Table: Scripture must not be denied to the laity: the faithful ought to join with the priest in public prayers: it is wrong to multiply needless oaths: excommunication when unjust hurts only the utterer. The condemnation of these doctrines was thorough, proclaimed by the Pope, welcomed by the French Crown, forced down reluctant throats. Those who would not accept it were

excluded from their office or order, imprisoned, refused the Sacraments at death, or when buried torn up out of consecrated ground. Those who appealed to a General Council against the Bull were declared heretics. All the patronage of power, all the threats of Church and State, were used to get these propositions (101 in all, mostly of the same style) thoroughly condemned and universally execrated. The Pope, the Jesuits, a great majority of the bishops, the charm of Fénelon's eloquence, the prisons of France and the Low Countries—all were used against these doctrines. Other influences in the same direction were the rising tide of rationalism, the scoffs of Frederick and Voltaire, the general loosening of all belief. It might surely have been expected that these dogmas would have been done with now, buried out of sight and memory, involved in universal contempt. Indeed, they must have had a deep root somewhere. Turn from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the latter years of it, and open the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* of Pius VI, issued in the year 1794 to condemn the synod of Pistoia, which had been held in 1786. Here we are in the beginning of the great tide of reaction which was roused by the excesses of the French Revolution. This spirit of reaction was encouraged everywhere by English arms and money, and rose very high at last, restoring the Jesuits and the Inquisition, setting up the Sacred Heart and the Holy Alliance, shooting Liberals, passing sacrilege laws, gagging the press, dispersing political meetings, riveting fast again the broken chains of privilege—a 'White Terror' nearly as formidable as the Red Terror, which had ebbed. However, in 1794 we are only at the beginning of the counter-revolution. We find all the same doctrines brought up again, to be condemned, with voluble iteration, by the same authority. We might have thought they were dead and done for, but they reappear, embodied this time in eighty-six propositions. Here are textual extracts from the Bull of 1794 :

' It is heresy to declare that in these latter ages there is a general obscuration of religious doctrine and practice ; or that the Church is Christ's mystical body, composed of the Head and of the

members, who are inwardly united with Him ; or that holy love is the special grace of the New Testament, and given to counteract in us the love of self ; or that servile fear is no part of true repentance ; or that man left to himself can make no movement towards good and is powerless to keep God's law ; or that penance should not be allowed at once to the relapsed ; or that nothing but absolute inability can excuse from Bible-reading ; or that the people ought to join in the Church's Offices with voice as well as heart ; or that the multiplied oaths which ecclesiastics take ought to be abolished.'

No doubt the list of 'exsecranda' has widened with the century ; the *Auctorem Fidei*, which condemns the decrees of a diocesan synod, has a wider range than the *Unigenitus*, which condemns the reflections of a devotional manual. Some peculiarities of the later Bull are worthy of notice. Under it it is damnable to maintain that the Church has no control over temporal rights or power to constrain faith by force (in Louis XIV's time Jansenists scarcely dared to utter this !) ; or that each bishop has received from Christ the right of granting all necessary dispensations to his flock ; or that priests in synod are judges of doctrine along with the bishop ; or that the full benefits of the Divine Sacrifice can only be enjoyed by sharing in Holy Communion ; or that there ought to be only one altar in each church ; or that the supposed treasure of the merits of Christ and the saints which can be applied in indulgences is a mere fiction ; or that reserved cases, privileged altars and tables of indulgences are all rubbish ; or that marriage in itself, apart from the Church's blessing, is a civil act and cognizable by the State ; or that devotion to the Sacred Heart is erroneous and dangerous (that devotion had come into fashion since 1713) ; or that images of the Holy Trinity should be removed from the church ; or that scholastic theology is to be reprobated and laid aside. These are addenda to the former list, but the general aspect of the thing condemned is the same—it is the doctrine of Augustine as to man's natural inability and unworthiness, apart from the omnipotence of Divine grace ; it is the doctrine which claims for the understanding and conscience

a part in religion, and is not content with mere devotional feeling or outward homage ; which maintains the necessity of reading Holy Scripture, of reforming the Church, of having true contrition in order to obtain forgiveness, of recurring to primitive times and a democratic episcopacy instead of blindly submitting to Papal autocracy.

One other glimpse of the vitality of Jansenism may be found in the records of the *Église Constitutionnelle*, which the Revolution created. Dr. Pisani, in his book *L'Épiscopat Constitutionnel*, says that the constitutional bishops were by no means all Jansenists doctrinally, but mostly ‘of a practical Jansenism—that of austere piety and rigorous morality’; they professed to teach nothing but what was in Scripture, in the Councils, and in the Fathers ; they regarded themselves as true bishops, independently of the Pope’s approval ; after they had been purified from unworthy members by the fire of persecution and had been reconstituted in 1795, ‘there was not remaining one among them of doubtful morality ; their religion, if somewhat narrow, was sincere. They would have been holy persons and adequate bishops but for their blind and tenacious adherence to the principles of Gallicanism ; by this they were “bien les héritiers du Jansénisme.”’ Many of them gave much more active tokens of their sympathy with the ideas of the party.

It has been pronounced folly to endeavour to lay ideas with a sword. The foregoing history will have shewn that a pickaxe, a *lettre de cachet*, or an ecclesiastical anathema, are equally unavailing for the purpose. We conclude with Sainte-Marthe’s words on the death of a truth-lover. ‘From the moment that he gained particular knowledge of the Truth he was always faithful to it ; he made it sovereign of his heart, he had no other desire but to practise it, he laboured only for its interests, he followed it where the path was hardest. He joyfully sacrificed to it goods, liberty and life ; he consecrated himself to its service in Truth’s evil day, when it was hated by all the world. In exchange Truth loaded him with blessings and kept alive in his heart a peace and inward joy which no powers of darkness could

destroy. As Truth delivered him from this world's temptations and made him even in this life rejoice in the happy liberty of God's children, I trust that he is now for ever with his Liberator.'

HENRY T. MORGAN.

## ART. VII.—CONGREGATIONALISM, PAST AND PRESENT.

1. *History of English Congregationalism.* By R. W. DALE, D.D. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.)
2. *Manual of Congregational Principles.* By the same. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1884.)
3. *History of Religion in England.* By J. STOUGHTON. 8 vols. (London : 1881-1901.)
4. *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.* By C. J. ABBEY and J. H. OVERTON. Two volumes. (London : Longmans, 1878.)

And many other works.

THE books which we have named above are too well known for criticism, with the exception of the posthumous History by Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, which has been completed by his son, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University. It is always interesting and well informed, and has the great merit of consistency. Dr. Dale's convictions had been reasoned out, and he observes events from a definite point of view. But neither he nor his son have won their spurs in the field of historical inquiry, and there are defects and errors of detail on which it would be ungenerous to lay stress, though clearly some of them cannot be laid to the printer's charge. There are also examples of that acerbity which is almost necessary for effectual partisanship, such as that of Dr. Dale, and of a pride in ancestral beliefs, strongly resembling the loyalty of Oxford men two generations ago to King Alfred as their founder. But all this hardly lessens the merit of an admirable and comprehensive work, worthy to rank with the standard *History of Religion in England* of Dr. Stoughton.

From the Restoration to the present time the Indepen-

dents have held a position of special influence and importance among the religious bodies outside the National Church in England. It is true that the Presbyterians were stronger in wealth and social weight during the eighteenth century, towards the end of which a vigorous political spirit was awakened among them which gave them for a time a power out of all proportion to their numbers. During the first third of the nineteenth century the Presbyterians, both ministers and laymen, shared the counsels of the Whig party, while their characteristic doctrine, which had come to be Unitarian, had a range far wider than their own communion. But the Presbyterians at the Restoration were faced by the impossible task of reconciling separation from the National Church with the Calvinist principle that the Church ought to be national. Their thought and discipline were ill-suited for the maintenance of the life of isolated congregations, and they suffered more than they can have known from the divorce between their theory and their practice. Their fellow-dissenters were often offended by their social exclusiveness ; they could not throw themselves heartily either into the common policy of a federation opposed to the Church or into the Calvinistic teaching which prevailed among the other denominations. The growth of Socinian views came in time to interpose a barrier which no recollection of common antecedents and no community of political interests could remove. Perhaps the memory of the bitter strife over the possession of chapels and endowments designed for orthodox congregations, which was ended by Lord John Russell and Parliament in 1844 in favour of the Unitarian occupants, has passed away ; perhaps also a certain admiration for Unitarians as progressive and intellectual people may tend to soften theological antipathies on the part of those who stand for old beliefs. But the fact remains that Unitarianism, the lineal successor of the old English Presbyterianism, decreases, and that its losses, as Mr. Charles Booth in his survey of the religious influences at work in London has pointed out, are a gain to Independency.

The historical reasons for this are obvious. All experi-

ence shews that certain truths which can, at the best, be but obscurely presented by Unitarianism are essential to the effective maintenance of an organized Christian life. And the very isolation of the separate congregations, to which Presbyterians submitted under protest, regarding their arrangements as but an unsatisfactory makeshift, exemplified for the Independent the ideal of the Christian Church. In the fearless and often reckless examination of Scripture which was made in the sixteenth century by those who were seeking a substitute for the mediævalism they had rejected, inquirers of very different types were struck by the organization of the little Churches of the Apostolic age. They were confronted by a great coherent and authoritative system, compact of evil as well as of good ; in the primitive Church they found small separate societies, recognizing no human authority outside their own membership save that of the Apostles, a body of men who had passed away, so it was deemed, without leaving representatives or successors. To each single society of this kind they attributed every high and sacred description to be found in the New Testament ; each was holy, separate from the world, the Body of Christ. It was composed of members who had freely joined it and had been admitted by the free vote of those who were already incorporated. It was complete in itself, and independent of other Churches of the same kind. There might, indeed, be a helpful interchange of sympathy or criticism, but the subordination of Church to Church was unscriptural and unknown to the primitive tradition. Still more was each Church independent of its pagan environment. It was not in the strict sense local ; it made no claim to embrace the population of the particular area in which its members happened to be sojourning. They were 'resident aliens,' a class recognized in another sense in every ancient polity ; their true citizenship was elsewhere. They did not expect the society in which they lived to sanction this renunciation of public duties and rights, and they were ready to face the risks incident to their disobedience.

Such was the picture which these inquirers drew from

the New Testament of what the Church in its first purity had been. Within a higher and invisible unity it consisted of an indefinite number of congregations, each independent of the others, and each consisting of members who in adhering to it separated themselves from an evil world. Whatever additional doctrines or practices might be inculcated by these men, they agreed in being 'Congregationalists' or 'Independents,' and also (though this was a term favoured by their critics rather than by themselves) 'Separatists.' They might be mad fanatics, like the Anabaptists of Münster; they might be amiable enthusiasts, orthodox in creed and preachers of tolerance before the time, like Balthazar Hübmaier, who was burned at Vienna, and Felix Manz, whom the Zwinglians drowned in the Lake of Zurich. From the point of view of Church organization it was but an accident that such men differed from the rest of Christendom concerning the baptism of infants. Their theory might well be adopted by those who had no such prejudices with which to burden it, and it was speciously attractive. It fell in with the primitive tendency of the human mind to regard a reversion to antiquity as desirable and possible. An imaginary golden age had attracted the fancy of the ancients; Christians could exercise their imagination upon an historical and admirable past. The idea of development would have been repugnant, had it suggested itself, to minds trained in the belief that man's highest aim is to reproduce antiquity. We, who have learned to recognize not only a general development in human affairs but also a particular and especially designed progress in the history of the Christian Church, cannot share the illusion. For us the sacred society is one which was intended to pass through successive phases without loss of identity; the fact of change, and even of startling change is an assurance of health, while a stereotyped sameness would excite our suspicion of some lurking malady. In the long history of the greatest of institutions such changes have only come at distant intervals, and none of them has been more decisive or more salutary than that by which the union of life and feeling, under the authority of

Apostles, cemented by the visits of an itinerant ministry, became embodied in the unity of organization. That unity, promoted at first by the hostile pressure of pagan Rome, and afterwards modelled upon the administrative structure of the Christian Empire, has been in its successive phases cosmopolitan and national. But whatever the scale of the particular State, the general conscience within it has always felt that there ought to exist at least a framework comprehensive enough to include its whole Christian population. It has not been satisfied with allowing liberty of association to its citizens ; still less has it given encouragement to the forces of disintegration. Yet it was at a moment of extremest stress, when union was imperatively necessary in face of the assaults of Rome, that the founders of Anabaptism, who are also the fathers of Independency, arose with their demand that Christendom should revert to its primitive state and become a vague multitude of self-centred congregations scattered through a world which they denounced as alien and hostile to the faith.

Such a doctrine defied all the teaching of the official reformers. These had been as conservative as was possible. Just as they had accepted without examination the principle of an infallible Bible, and with it the inevitable corollary of mystical exegesis, so they borrowed also the idea of a comprehensive Church. Every member of the commonwealth was to be coerced into membership, and dissidents, if they were permitted to live within its bounds, were at least to be denied its privileges. Till the French Revolution no Lutheran could enjoy the citizenship of Geneva, and no Calvinist that of Hamburg. This continuity with mediæval thought was not broken by the fact that the ruler of the particular State, and not the ruler of the universal Church, was arbiter of doctrine within his dominion. Luther had been forced by the apparently incorrigible hostility of the Popes towards reformation to assert the rights of the local sovereign. He appealed to a great mediæval tradition and to a powerful literature. It was true that the electors and counts whom he urged on were a sorry substitute for the Hohenstaufen emperors with

their majestic claims and their cogent arguments from the law of the old Roman Empire. But these petty princes were the working force of Germany in the sixteenth century. Within their dominions they were supreme, and if reformation was to come they alone could bring it about. Nor could the process fail to be profitable. There were weak ecclesiastical territories easily to be annexed, with or without the connivance of their holders, and there was no public opinion to resist their aggression. For there was a strong religious feeling throughout the land, shocked at the reckless lives of prelates demoralized by the example of Rome and ready to welcome a change that must, at any rate, promote respectability. Without regard for continuity princes and people moved together. They rejected a system which had apparently failed for one which, if it were untried, was at least untarnished, and they moved, in a body, without contemplating the possibility of sanctioning dissidence, and never free from the suspicion that treason lurked behind scruples of conscience. As late as 1601 an Elector of Saxony beheaded his chancellor for the crime of 'Cryptocalvinism.' It meant sympathy with the Huguenots, and therefore hostility to the Hapsburgs and disturbance of the balance of power in Germany. Among the Reformed, especially in the Netherlands, there was the same resolution to preserve unity, and with it a strong tendency for the lines of religious and political cleavage to coincide. It is needless to add that in England the Anglican, the Puritan, and the Roman parties were equally determined, as and when the opportunity should come, to enforce conformity with their own standard of faith.

But the spirit of the German Anabaptists had spread to England, and was to be the more effective because it possessed minds which were not prejudiced against the universal practice of infant baptism. Their acquiescence in this made it easier for them to gain a hearing in the days of Elizabeth. Indeed, save for their one novel theory they were mere propounders of the popular Calvinism of the day. None were so strident as they in denouncing Rome and everything that resembled or suggested a continuity

with the worship of the past. And this hostility has continued to colour the thoughts even of moderate and tolerant men among their successors. But 'the filthy Canon Law,' 'this secret and disguised Antichrist, to wit, the Canon Law,' was their chief abhorrence. In contrast to this, Dr. Stoughton defines their position as being that 'Jesus Christ established His empire upon the consent and not the fears of men.' Logically extended it would satisfy the modern Anarchist, and it ignores both the moral value of willing obedience and the capacity of mankind for comprehensive union. In lieu of this we find a 'Privy Church,' 'a poor congregation whom God hath separated from the Church of England': thus Richard Fitz described his flock—the earliest, so far as is known, of organized Separatist congregations in our country—which was founded in or a little before the year 1568. Inevitably the members of such a society thought quite as much about the evil, as they regarded it, against which their union was a protest, as they did of the happiness which they found in a congenial fellowship. The 'stern feeling of an almost defiant witness-bearing,' of which Dr. Allon spoke to Mr. Gladstone in a letter of 1878, became their settled tone. It is true that the main body of the Puritans were equally hostile to Rome and to the Elizabethan settlement in England. But they had at least an ideal of ecclesiastical organization which linked them with great bodies of public opinion and with eminent leaders in Protestant countries. They had a definite constructive policy, and in their campaign on its behalf came in touch with every side of the national life. In contrast with them the Independents were for practical purposes merely negative in their teaching. They were a disintegrating force in a nation which craved for cohesion, however deeply men might differ as to the structure of which all were to be components.

All this is exemplified in the men with whom the continuous history of Congregationalism begins. The connexion between Fitz and his successors cannot be traced, but the line from Robert Browne onwards is unbroken. He imbibed the current Calvinism of Cambridge, and for a

while lived the troubled life of those who desired to introduce the Genevan discipline into the English Church, of which he had received the Orders. He soon came to condemn the Presbyterian system as heartily as the Anglican, and about 1580, being then some thirty years of age, he took part in founding a Congregational society at Norwich. He had his inevitable imprisonments, from which his kinsman, Burghley, more than once released him, his periods of exile in the Netherlands and Scotland, his literary as well as pastoral labours. His ability was as evident as his earnestness ; he was fearlessly consistent in rejecting the whole existing scheme of territorial Christianity. He saw no use in a system by which the land was divided into areas of Christian teaching and influence. England must be treated as a heathen land, and a fresh start must be made. In his own words, ‘he judged that the Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few.’ Thus Congregationalism started at the point which Puritanism of the other type has only reached in a few of its extremes, as when ‘Johnny Dodds of Farthing’s Acre and David Deans of St. Leonard’s constitute the only members of the true, real, unsophisticated Kirk of Scotland.’ Not that Browne was a mere enthusiast. He had a clearly reasoned and well-stated theory of the Church, which had a dignity of its own, and by its positiveness must have attracted serious minds in so confused an age. ‘The Church planted or gathered’—and there was no wider Church in his eyes—‘is a company or number of Christians or believers, which, by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep His laws in one holy communion.’ But such a society was not a democracy. As Dr. Dale says, Browne had a very lofty conception of authority of all kinds. Civil magistrates, he taught, are persons authorized by God, and ‘Church governors are persons receiving their authority and office of God for the guiding of his people the Church, received and called thereto by due consent and agreement of the Church.’ To quote Dr. Dale, who held strongly to an ideal which

to his regret has not been equally regarded by Congregationalists at large,

' It was not Browne's view that the powers of pastors, teachers and elders were derived from the people. Pastor, teacher, elder have " office and message of God," and the Church has simply to discover to what persons " the office and message of God " have been entrusted. The right which Browne claimed for the Christian community was not " the right to choose their own ministers," but the right to judge what ministers God had chosen for them.'

And again :

' The Church . . . is not a voluntary club for the regulation of which the members may make what rules they please, the rights and powers of individual members being based upon free contract between themselves ; it is a Society of which Christ is the Founder, the Head and the Lord. Its members have no right to admit whom they like or to exclude whom they like ; they have no right to elect men to office according to their private tastes and preferences. Nor are they at liberty to please themselves in the conduct of public worship. In the whole life of the Church they have simply to give effect to the will of Christ, who is present whenever the Church meets, and apart from whose concurrence and sanction all the decisions of the Church are without validity.'

An august conception, and one by which good men, in the sincere effort to exemplify it in practice, have no doubt been made better ; but a conception repugnant to the sense of solidarity in mankind and incapable of satisfying their needs ; nor is it easily to be reconciled with the pure individualism of Richard Fitz. In fact, within a few years Browne himself was dissatisfied and subsided into conformity, to spend a long and obscure life in a Northamptonshire rectory, and to display in it a want of self-restraint which forbids our taking him too seriously as a guide.

The desertion of this solitary and perhaps not quite creditable recruit to the Church did nothing to lessen the violence of his party's attack. It was aimed at the Puritans, who were taunted for their cowardly delay, as the Separatists

regarded it, in revolting from the Bishops and the Liturgy. No allowance was made for their sincere belief in a national Christianity and for their natural reluctance to sever themselves from a Church which they hoped to leaven from within. They were bidden to defy the officers of State as the Apostles defied the magistrates of their day. England, they were told, stood on the same level as pagan Rome. If Puritans were thus addressed, those who were guilty of conformity could expect still less mercy. The ordinary methods of controversy and the usual vocabulary of English writers were inadequate to express their condemnation. Knowing their danger, and that if they were caught the law of the age would visit them with the punishment of the sheep-stealer and the shop-lifter, the Separatists indulged in the excitement of a secret press and in the luxury of indiscriminate railing. Often enough it was humorous, displaying an ingenuity of abuse quite equal to that of the Elizabethan tavern-wits on whose level they put themselves, and who found a congenial task in repaying them in their own coin. Often it was sheer schoolboy impudence, as when a grave dean was described as a 'doctor in divillitie.' The substance of their polemic was not less irritating than its manner. It was, for instance, a gross distortion and a gross ingratitude to assert that the reign of Elizabeth was a worse tyranny than that of Mary. In a more civilized age, and when the English people had long been accustomed to toleration, Pitt thought it necessary to deal severely with men who made a breach in the uniform hostility with which England confronted the aggression of France. Our modern thought condemns the frequent injustice of his action, but the public opinion of his own day gave him full approval. We cannot wonder that in the great struggle with Rome and Spain voices so provoking and distracting as those of the Marprelate writers were summarily silenced, nor can we regard them in any true sense as martyrs.

But Penry and his colleagues were partners with men as earnest but more serious than themselves. Not that even the wisest were free from the prejudices of the moment,

and from the hysterical passion in which all Puritans indulged. They were at their best in exile, but the Independents at Amsterdam, refugees for conscience' sake, clamoured for the destruction of 'all temples, altars, chapels, and other places dedicated heretofore by the heathens or Antichristians to their false worship.' And if they were irreconcileable towards the memorials of the past in England, they were not more tractable in their dealings with each other. The Marian exiles in Germany had formed two rival parties under Knox and Cox. The knot of Congregationalists in Holland was as fissiparous as the Plymouth Brethren; it divided itself into four groups, three at Amsterdam and one at Leyden. Yet the men had in them qualities which only needed a fitting sphere for their development. They had an utter conviction of the soundness of their principle and a logic which impelled them to carry it consistently into action. In their poverty they maintained the closeness of their corporate life; the giving and receiving of money was as much a part of it as combination in worship, and they refused the aid of all but the fellow-members of their Church. They laid the foundation of the solid structure they were to raise in New England by refusing to compromise their principle of separate Churches for the sake of a vague share in the common hope and policy of Puritanism. It lies beyond the bounds of our present subject to inquire how far the statesmanlike organization of Massachusetts and the spirit in which it was maintained were consistent with the pure principles of Independency. It was at least a great and successful experiment, and it is eminently instructive to trace the reaction from Calvinist gloom to Unitarian optimism, and from that on to the present phase in which, while the optimism remains, the children of the Pilgrim Fathers are turning in the search for authority to the Anglican and Roman communions.

No such success was to reward the re-establishment of Congregationalism in England. The exiles of Holland, who had never abandoned their hope of converting England or their literary efforts, began to found societies in our country

under James I. One of their churches, that in the Old Kent Road in South London, which now styles itself, not without historical justification, the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers, has a continuous record from the year 1616. But though the party was active and had as leaders men who were equal in ability and Christian character to the prominent divines of other schools, it had no success in the nation at large. In the Grand Remonstrance of 1641, by which Parliament precipitated the Civil War, the Puritan majority, while expressing their resolve 'to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God and to the laws of the land,' balance this statement of their intention by declaring

'that it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin according to the Word of God.'

At the moment when it was urgently necessary to conciliate public opinion by as attractive a manifesto to the nation as was possible, the shrewd statesmen who guided its policy judged it expedient to repudiate formally and conspicuously any approval or even tolerance for the principle of Congregationalism. They were honestly expressing their own sentiment, but the mode in which they proclaimed it shewed that it was shared by Englishmen in general.

The history of the Westminster Assembly proved that they were right. That Assembly, the clerical members of which were, like the Scottish delegates who attended its sessions, all of them episcopally ordained, contained but five Independents, and these were confronted by a solid hundred who were determined that the Church should be Presbyterian, if they could have it so, but at least that the Church should be national. And even the five, of whom Philip Nye was the most eminent, were advocates of a

‘Modified Independency.’ They had abandoned the prejudices of the original Separatists, and were willing to believe that Churchmen, at any rate those of a Puritan cast, were neither antichrists nor fatally implicated in the guilt of Rome. In fact they, and the few members of the Assembly who gave them an occasional support, recognized it as the duty of the State to compel its subjects to attend the worship of the Church, which should yet, they stipulated, be organized on Independent lines; though they protested that neither should these attendants be compelled to become members of the church to which they resorted, nor should the church be obliged to receive them. Yet this compulsory attendance implied a sufficient number of churches distributed over the country, for without them the law could not be enforced; and thus Independents of the newer school had arrived at the same conclusion as Anglicans and Presbyterians. All parties were agreed that there must be a parochial system, differently as they thought concerning the right mode of its administration.

But for the present it seemed that the Presbyterians were masters of the situation. The Scottish army in Yorkshire and the Scottish delegates in the Assembly were equally important. The fortune of the war was undecided, and Scotland might turn the scale. English convictions as to the scripturalness of Calvin’s system fluctuated with the changes of the campaign. Our countrymen on the Parliamentary side were sound Puritans, but at heart they dreaded the domination of the presbyters; yet Scottish aid was not to be had on lighter terms than that of the assimilation of the English Church to the discipline of Scotland. We cannot blame the ministers assembled at Westminster for looking forward with hope to an authority which their brethren of Geneva and Edinburgh enjoyed, and which they were profoundly convinced was both scriptural and beneficial. But we may wonder that they failed to see the inconsistency of rejoicing in their sermons before Parliament over the abolition of the tyranny of the High Commission and the Canon Law, and in the next sentence dwelling with delight on the approaching establishment of an irresponsible

tribunal in every parish. For excommunication was the highest prerogative of the Presbyterian ministry, and was a blessing which the divines of the Assembly proposed to distribute broadcast. They had no doubt that they would meet with a willing submission, yet when (to take a single instance) Oliver Bowles, a leader in the Assembly, preaching before the Lords, Commons, and Divines on the Solemn Fast of July 7, 1643, urged the 'Noble Parliament Worthies' that they 'would be pleased to account it their greatest honour to submit' to Christ's ordinances, we may be sure that his audience heard him with a dubious satisfaction. English laymen have an innate repugnance to ecclesiastical discipline.

The fear was fatal to English Presbyterianism. When Cromwell, by his victories, had made Scottish assistance superfluous, the Assembly, and especially the Scottish delegates, found themselves treated with all respect, but their schemes courteously ignored. A shadow of Presbyterianism was set up as the official government of the Church; how little substance it had save in the precincts of London and Manchester has been admirably shewn by Mr. W. A. Shaw in his history of the English Church during this period. Without national support the new Church was powerless; and such support was denied. When Baxter was moved under the Commonwealth to promote a reform in Worcestershire on Presbyterian lines, he established a new and voluntary association, not a branch of the sickly official tree; and the revival of Presbyterianism by the remnant of the Long Parliament after Cromwell's death served only to advertise its failure. It was the Independents who had saved England from that rigid system, but they had saved it by what their Elizabethan predecessors would have branded as a treason to principle. For the parochial system, including tithe and patronage and all that they had risked their lives to denounce, was the one ecclesiastical feature of England which was unaffected by the revolution. There were committees of 'Triers' for England at large, and a committee of religion for each county established by authority of Parliament. There was a great concentration

of patronage in the hands of the Government, which held that of the Crown, of the bishops, and of cathedral chapters, together with the first presentation after the ejection of a malignant (however sound a Puritan the patron of the benefice might be), and the whole patronage of laymen who had taken arms against the Parliament. But there was no higher organization, and no consistent policy. The number of evictions has always been a disputed point, and historians who hold a brief for the Puritans have minimized, while their opponents have made the most of, the suffering which it entailed. The question is one for local research which has not yet been completed, and general considerations of probability are irrelevant. If we may judge from the proceedings in one small county, that of Dorset, there was a strict inquiry into the principles of all occupants of comfortable benefices, of whom few, if any, save avowed Puritans escaped ; while the holders of poor livings, even if they had notoriously espoused the Royalist cause, were left undisturbed. It would be interesting to know if any of the parishes which cherish the tradition of a continuous use of the Common Prayer (they are fairly numerous) was so endowed as to be capable of exciting desire. For if a benefice could be obtained, the law protected its income, and the motley host who invaded the parishes dealt with tithe and glebe and Easter dues and parochial fees exactly as their predecessors had done. It is curious to find a modus in composition for tithe settled in 1646 by a new rector, cited in a terrier of the eighteenth century as still guiding the practice of a Bedfordshire parish. Of this comfortable provision for the ministry the Independents enjoyed their full share, side by side with Presbyterians and Baptists, and such Anglicans as could win the favour of Triers or committees. Upon these last no restriction was placed beyond the universal prohibition of the Liturgy ; and, as the well-known anecdote of Bishop Bull shews, this could be evaded by a minister who knew the words by rote. Once admitted, he became perforce an Independent in practice, though free from the anxieties of a precarious position, for Englishmen then, as now, were

tolerant of their clergy, and with ordinary tact quarrels and appeals to the county committee could be avoided.

This is still, if we may trust their historians, the period to which Independents look back as their golden age. It was, indeed, a time when men of signal piety and ability were found in their ranks, and when tolerance was consistently practised. For a rector, protected in his revenue, was not protected in his monopoly. The Quaker who interrupted the services of the steeple-house would find himself in gaol, as would those who were detected in the secret use of the English or the Roman liturgy. But with these exceptions any, from a Bunyan downwards, who assembled a congregation of their own were at liberty to do so, and to express as they would their opinion of the official clergy. And since no body of men have ever cherished a higher notion of their dignity than the Puritans in the days of their triumph, we must fear that their success was embittered by many wounds to their self-esteem. Nor could they be satisfied with their future prospects. The reign of Cromwell, over which his fellow-Independents linger with entire satisfaction in their histories, was in fact a failure. He could neither rule with nor without a Parliament ; he was financially embarrassed, and for his own security had to subject the nation to military jurisdiction. Like Napoleon III., he threw his strength into foreign policy, and with considerable success ; but it was patent that his system would end with his life. As for the army, though its vices were not those usual among mercenaries, there is no reason to suppose that the rank and file had more stake in the country than other professional soldiers. The copyholding yeomen who had won Cromwell's victories quickly retired to their farms, and their successors, both officers and men, were interested in their own permanence rather than in the welfare of the nation. The outcome of the struggle for liberty was an England held down by force, and governed against its will for what its rulers thought was their country's good.

With the Restoration the Independents recovered their true position, while the Presbyterians, unless they could regain their place in the National Church by some com-

promise with the Prelatists, were in a position essentially false. In the vain attempt made at the Savoy Conference of 1661—an attempt in which one cause of failure was Baxter's want of diplomatic skill—the Independents and the Baptists had no share. But all alike shared the suffering of ejection, and this although a majority, as we may assume, were in the Orders of the English Church. For the whole length of the troubles had only been some eighteen years, and a man who began his ministry at the usual age would have hardly passed the age of forty at the Restoration. And the Puritan clergy were well fitted for their place. The habits and thoughts of a very conservative society were not so changed as to admit a new stratum to ecclesiastical benefices ; the eccentrics for the most part presided over voluntary congregations, while the parishes were held by men of the same class and education as their Anglican predecessors. The ludicrous descriptions of the Commonwealth clergy which obtained currency after the Restoration deserve as little credit as the scandals spread concerning their opponents in such productions as the *Century of Scandalous Ministers*. It is lamentable that Dr. Dale, an excellent man but no impartial historian, should have innocently accepted and repeated these calumnies. If the victorious party at the accession of Charles II. had but sanctioned the continuance for their life of a non-liturgical service by the duly ordained clergy to whose benefice no ejected survivor had a claim, the secession with all its bitterness would have been infinitely lessened. As it was, the case was a common one of a clergyman of Puritan sympathies, instituted under James I. or Charles I., who had comfortably used the Prayer Book till it was forbidden, who had then, perhaps with greater satisfaction, abstained till 1661 from its use, and at last could not stultify himself in the eyes of his flock by resuming the liturgy. Such men, often fathers of their parishes, carried their people with them into Dissent. Had they been allowed personally to retain their habit of worship, they and their congregations had no principle which forbade communion with conformists, and in the next generation their prejudice would have become extinct.

But tolerance could not be expected from men who had just escaped from the intolerable oppression under which the use of the Prayer Book had been a crime save where the place and the benefice were so small that the offence was winked at.

But these transactions, though they have a large place in Independent Histories, only indirectly concerned that denomination, which shared the sufferings, though not the hopes, of the Presbyterians. There is no need for us to recall that discreditable period, when Clarendon was unwisely attempting to enforce uniformity, and opponents so unscrupulous as Ashley and Buckingham were intriguing for Dissenting help against his policy and that of his successors. It is more important to note the increasing cleavage between Presbyterians and Independents, due in part to social causes, the former having the stronger connexion with the landed interest, though both were surrounded by an equally comfortable atmosphere of vested interests and close corporations and city companies. Neither, in fact, was a popular force ; we may wonder whether the enthusiasm of the seventeenth century had fled, for the Dissenters of the Revolution were important not for their numbers or their zeal, but for their intelligence and wealth. The Toleration Act, as inevitable as it was righteous, shewed the strength of the Dissenting interest ; a strength that was seriously weakened by its divisions. In 1691 the ministers of the two bodies in and near London framed a concordat by which they were to coalesce in a body called the 'United Brethren.' It would be superfluous to discuss which side surrendered most in a compromise which was never ratified by the several congregations. For three years later a storm burst, partly through personal disputes and partly through a divergence in doctrine, which rendered their severance manifest. The Independents were the more rigorous in their Calvinism, while the Presbyterians were influenced by Baxter and by their affinities with the Church. In this strife Stillingfleet took a prominent part, upholding the Presbyterian contention ; and this is but one symptom among many of the mutual interest felt in each

other's affairs by the rising school of Churchmen and the Presbyterians. But this did not avail to maintain the cause of the latter ; and in one respect their decline lowered the principles of their Independent rivals. The Presbyterians, reduced to the state of a multitude of isolated congregations, had no theory of the Divine rights of the single Church on which to fall back. Their only mode of maintaining their Church life was by contract between the officers of the particular congregation and the minister whom they engaged. It was a matter of business, not of compliance with a scriptural direction. The Independents followed suit, forgetting their own exalted theory of the rights and duties of minister and people. Thus the tone of their life was lowered through acquiescence in the loss of their ideal. There was nothing in their circumstances to force upon them this new conception of the ministry. It was due to the contagion of example, and to the indifference to denominational distinctions which the novel philosophy of Locke was diffusing.

From this time onwards till the Methodist revival the history of the Independents is creditable but not very interesting, save in the lives of some of its leaders, such as Philip Doddridge and Isaac Watts. At the accession of Queen Anne there is the first appearance of the joint delegation of the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters, to which was accorded the privilege of addressing the Crown ; a right which the Board still exercises on occasion, though the change of circumstances has diminished its vitality. In 1723 Walpole, as a favour to consistent Whigs, instituted the charitable gift from the Treasury of the 'Regium Donum,' which Lord John Russell, in compliance with the desire of his Dissenting supporters, withdrew in 1851. Meanwhile, though the Independents maintained a position more than respectable, and did national service in sacred literature and in the maintenance of a sober standard of religious life, they were steadily diminishing in numbers. Though the dream of comprehension survived as late as 1748, when Archbishop Herring and Dr. Samuel Chandler engaged in a vague negotiation in that behalf, the Presby-

terians, more rapidly than they knew, were drifting in a direction which made it impossible. First as Socinians, and then, under the leadership of the distinguished scholar Nathaniel Lardner, as avowed Unitarians, they severed themselves from the Calvinism of their fathers. Though they were not alone in being touched by that spirit—it was widely prevalent in the Church of the eighteenth century, and also among Independents and Baptists—they alone were dominated by it, and hence a further breach between them and the Independents. Both bodies had funds for the support of the weaker 'causes,' which often accepted contributions from both; and it was the signal of revolt from orthodoxy on Priestley's part when he declined to receive Independent aid for his little chapel at Needham Market in Suffolk. And in later life, when the Tory mob demolished his chapel at Birmingham, their war-cry was 'No Presbyterians'; so thoroughly was English Presbyterianism identified with Unitarianism, and that with advanced politics.

This political spirit was not shared by the Independents. They were, in general, content with the annual Acts of Indemnity which from 1727 to 1828 nullified the repressive measures of Parliament under Charles II. and Anne. They were strongly Calvinist in doctrine, and had come to attach more importance to soundness in this respect than to agreement in regard to the theory of the ministry. Thus they were equally repelled by the unorthodoxy of the Presbyterians and by the Arminianism of the Methodists, and on the other hand were attracted by the Calvinism of that party in the revival of religion which was most firm in its adherence to the principle and the discipline of the Establishment. But the alliance could not be on equal terms. The Independents were a decaying community. Mr. J. G. Miall, in his *History of Congregationalism in Yorkshire*, can trace only eight congregations in that great county with a continuous record from the seventeenth century, and some of these had passed through a stage of Unitarianism. In the city of York there was no body of orthodox Dissenters from 1750 to 1816. The Methodist movement stimulated

religious life, but it could not satisfy those who were drawn to the thought and doctrine of the Westminster Confession, the traditional standard of the Independents. These, alienated from the teaching and from the political activities of the Unitarians, and not drawn to the novelties of Methodism, offered an opening for influence to Calvinist Churchmen. Doddridge had set an example of friendliness towards the Church, which was followed by leading Independents till the end of the eighteenth century, and even later. They had little hold, as Dr. Dale notes with regret, of the principles of their founders. Provided there were an Evangelical minister and a like-minded congregation they were content. And the Calvinists within the Church were of the same mind. It was practically impossible to divide a parish, an Act of Parliament being necessary for the purpose, which involved a civil as well as an ecclesiastical rearrangement. Meanwhile, the preaching of powerful Evangelicals was collecting congregations for whom it was difficult to provide; and the Independent ministry was found a useful machinery for the purpose. No one was more active in employing it than Henry Venn at Huddersfield. In the neighbouring town of Halifax the Church was not Evangelical, and the chapel was Unitarian. Venn busied himself in raising money to build the 'square chapel,' an Independent cause which perpetuated work which he had begun in visits to the town. At Holmfirth, a large hamlet outside his own parish, his admirers, who found the distance of Huddersfield too great for regular attendance, also founded an Independent chapel as a security for continuous Calvinist teaching. And when Venn, in 1770, resigned Huddersfield, and the patron presented a vicar of whom he disapproved, he headed with 20*l.* the subscription list for a Congregational chapel. It is true that he expressed a hope that the Liturgy might be used, but he had no scruple as to the separation. The result of his work, and of that of the like-minded Grimshaw of Haworth, loyal Churchmen as they were in their way, was that by 1800 Yorkshire was full of flourishing Independent causes. The same was the case with Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire through the

work of Berridge. Independency, in fact, was regarded as an auxiliary of the Church ; and Churchmen were busy in educating Independent ministers to evangelize neglected rural districts. Thus, just before the end of the century, the Rev. John Eyre, minister of a proprietary chapel in the then prosperous suburb of Hackney, was the chief founder of Hackney College, instituted for the cheap education of humble and pious men, who were to be incidentally Independent ministers, but essentially undenominational preachers of the Gospel. And this was but one symptom of many ; while on the other side the Independent acquiescence is shewn in the constitution of the London Missionary Society, in which everything relating to the order and worship of a Christian Church is expressly classed among non-essentials. This was indeed a departure from the principle for which the first Independents had struggled and suffered ; and it was celebrated by Rowland Hill in appropriate verse in his *Epitaph on Bigotry* ;

‘ Here lies old Bigotry abhorred  
By all that love our common Lord ;  
No more his influence shall prove  
The torment of the sons of love,’

and so forth. There was a complete negation of any and every system of association as binding upon Christian people.

It was impossible that such a state of affairs could be lasting. Inevitably, as they became conscious of their new strength, the Independents came to value their own peculiarities and to associate rather with the established leaders of their own cause than with their Anglican patrons. From politics they abstained, for politics were the monopoly of the Unitarians, and Whiggery was increasingly to be tarred, down to the time of the Reform Bill, with the brush of Unitarianism and even of Deism. But the folly of such Tory leaders as Lords Sidmouth and Liverpool, in attempting to aid the Church by avowed hostility to dissent, while Bishop Horsley denounced religious action outside the Church’s communion as teaching atheism and disloyalty, was to render it ever more difficult for them to

abstain from political action; and meanwhile the orthodox dissenters were ostentatiously wooed by Brougham and his allies. But Independency, as it grew more self-sufficing, did not recover its original principle. Nowhere can we find a stronger condemnation of its working than in the writings of Rowland Hill, who was himself, so far as he had a definite position, an Independent. Their government, he said, was 'modern and ill-digested in troublous times.' This was unjust, for the government which he saw was not that of the original Independents. Of its practical working, he says, 'However I might be disposed to vote for the reduction of the episcopacy of the English Church, yet I had much rather be under the Right Reverend Father in God with us than under the jurisdiction of the Most Reverend Mothers in God among the stricter Independents'; and elsewhere, 'The minister is the speaker, and only the speaker, of their spiritual House of Commons, for in other respects he is just like the Pope, and though by the rule of reverse, *servus servorum*; he is without a vote for himself and without any possibility of redress.' And indeed, at the present day Independent ministers may sometimes be heard talking of their employers in the tone of discontented members of a trade union.

The next phase was inevitably one in which politics were as prominent as religion; and perhaps the latter suffered more than the former gained. The tone was set by the Rev. Thomas Binney, and the climax was reached in Mr. Edward Miall, who left his ministry to become a member of Parliament. An unsuspecting filial piety has reprinted in his biography his famous outpouring in the *Nonconformist* of 1841:

'The Establishment, a life-destroying upas, deeply rooted in our soil, undisturbed drinks up fresh vigour. It sprouts again. It puts forth fresh branches. It sheds its noxious seeds in our colonies. If there be evil in it, that evil is daily becoming confirmed, augmented, perpetuated. The curse is going down to our posterity, abroad to our emigrants, aggravated in its intensity. For our part we are resolved to wash our hands of the guilt. In the name of myriads, victims of an impious pretence—when they lean upon it, fatally deluded, when they

discern its hollowness, infidel for life—in the name of unborn generations of the untold millions that shall one day populate the distant dependencies of Britain—in the name of Christianity, misrepresented, disgraced, downcast, trodden under foot, by aristocratic legislation—we charge the body of Dissenting ministers with unfaithfulness to sacred principles, evasion of a noble mission, and seeming recklessness of all the mighty interests at issue.'

because they were unprepared to make a political agitation their chief business. Soon after these words were written Dickens published *Martin Chuzzlewit*, and it is a pity that the creator of Elijah Pogram did not seek in such rhetoric as this an opening for legitimate comedy. It would have been a worthier employment of his wit than the two clumsy caricatures of the Nonconformist ministry which disfigure his writings, and might have counteracted the influence which this Corinthian eloquence has had upon the platform, if not upon the pulpit. One favourite plan of the more serious Independents had been that of drawing together Evangelicals without and within the Church in opposition to the inroads of Tractarianism. Such a scheme, reviving as it would have done the alliance of the days of Venn and Eyre, whether or not it was hopeful in itself, was shattered by the activity of Miall and of the Liberation Society which he founded. And this society, by the new connexions it has knitted, together with the spirit now generally diffused among Nonconformists which belittles the characteristic principles of their several societies, has undermined the original Independency more effectually than it has assailed the walls of the Establishment. On all hands we hear of projected unions, and in the self-governing colonies steps have been taken towards a consummation in which one united 'Free Church' shall embrace all who hold the Apostles' Creed without being Anglicans or Roman Catholics. It is not likely that the courteous advances made to our Church in Canada will meet with success, and it is certain that the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa will maintain its national particularism. We can only wish the effort well,

interesting and historically inevitable and Christian in temper as it is.

In nothing is it more interesting than in the triumph it displays of the Nonconformist over the Separatist. The rhetoric of such a union may be English, but its logic and its method are Scotch. It means that the old Puritan spirit which demanded a home in a national Church is now to attempt its satisfaction in a new Church which is to be made, since it cannot reconcile itself to the old Church which grew; it means also that the ideal of Browne and Penry is finally forsaken. We cannot doubt that both ministry and people will gain by the greatness and stability of the society into which they are to be incorporated. And its size will have the advantage of making it an object sufficient to satisfy the interest of its members, while a source of much weakness, the constant concern with the affairs of another and a stronger communion, will be cut off. We know how in our own judgement a certain want of balance is displayed when our members are absorbed either in censure or in imitation of the Roman Church, and we can estimate the loss which Congregationalism has suffered through the waste of thought and words in depreciation of ourselves or in self-gratulation that they are not as we are. But it would be unjust to close with words of criticism. If English Independency is not native to our soil, and if it has rather been moulded by events than effective in shaping them, it has maintained a high standard of thought and feeling and public spirit among its members; and, if comparison be permitted, it has not acquiesced in mediocrity as some cognate denominations seem to have done. Its atmosphere has stimulated effort, and often successful effort, and the Independents have had the honour of producing a large number of minds of real and fruitful originality. Nor need we suspect that departure from their original principle, since they have borne its trammels as lightly as we have seen, will weaken their forces. Rather will the liberty—though we could wish it a chartered freedom—of their new association give wider scope to their ideas and their statesmanship, and the satisfaction experienced in member-

ship of a solidly incorporated polity may well awaken the desire for union with a structure which has grown with the growth of Christianity, and which, apart from its Divine claims, has its justification in the very nature of the human mind and in the best tendencies of human society.

E. W. WATSON.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE STATE IN ENGLISH EDUCATION.

1. *State Intervention in English Education. A Short History from the Earliest Times down to 1833.* By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY (Cambridge : At the University Press, 1902.)
2. *The Education Acts (England and Wales), 1870-1907.*
3. *Resolutions on the Question of Education.* Adopted (i) by the Nonconformist Group of the House of Commons, August 1907 ; (ii) by the Trades Union Congress at Bath, September 6, 1907.
4. *The Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Day Schools in England, 1907 ; The Regulations of the Board of Education for Secondary Schools, in force from August 1, 1907 ; The Regulations for the Training of Teachers, 1907.* (London : Wyman & Sons, Ltd.)
5. *Janus in Modern Life.* By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. (London : Constable & Co., Ltd., 1907.)

#### I.

IN England within recent years there has sprung up among the more intelligent artisans a strong desire to secure better educational opportunities for their children. They have realized the power of education, its social value and its increasing importance under modern conditions of industrial and political life. They are dissatisfied with what is given in great numbers of our elementary schools. The specific reforms which are urged by those of their number who are closely acquainted with the details of educational work

may, so far as the writer's experience goes, be shortly stated as follows. They want the classes to be smaller in order that more attention may be paid to the needs and aptitudes of each child. They wish the weaker staffs of teachers to be strengthened in point both of numbers and of professional equipment. They desire that all school buildings should be airy and well lighted, attractive in design and decoration, and supplied with everything necessary for the training of the body and the mind. They feel that in many schools promising children in the higher standards fail to get the advanced instruction which their abilities deserve. They would welcome the provision of supplementary courses on the plan which has been successfully followed in Scotland. They are anxious for the development of secondary education on popular lines. They regard with favour the new type of day technical schools, recently established in London, in Leeds and elsewhere, in which boys or girls who have completed the elementary day school course receive a practical training designed to prepare them for entering a skilled trade or for the duties of home life. And, not least, they are resolved that the schools to which they send their children shall be free from all associations of charity or patronage, civic institutions under public management, open to all and good enough for all.

This movement of opinion has great political significance. It is steadily gaining force, especially in great cities and in the industrial districts. It is the outcome of social and economic changes which have produced what is virtually a new class. It is practically confined to the skilled artisans. It is not a movement of opinion among the whole labouring population. It has hardly touched the unskilled workers. Except here and there, it has not affected the country districts. But among the skilled workers in the organized trades its influence is unmistakeable. Its real significance lies not in the ambitious programme to which (apparently without detailed criticism) the Trades Union Congress gave a rather hasty assent, but in the practical demands, to which it is giving rise, for improvements in the conditions of work in

the elementary schools. Those demands, as outlined above, are reasonable in themselves, and their satisfaction will promote social well-being, industrial efficiency, and the interests of the nation as a whole. Few things could have been more fortunate than this growth of educational interest among English artisans. For generations the country has suffered from the lack of popular appreciation of the benefits of good schools. Now at last the awakening seems to have begun. And it is much to be hoped that those who have influence in directing public policy may regard the new movement of educational opinion among artisans with active sympathy. Upon certain vital questions of principle, indeed, no compromise is possible. But it would be a national misfortune if the Church of England, which has done so much to secure education for the people, were at this critical juncture to drift into a position of antagonism towards the educational ideals of the most intelligent members of the working class.

In those ideals two strong motives may be seen at work. The first is to secure opportunity of self-realization for each individual child. The other is to emphasize in educational policy the claims of the community expressed through the authority of the State. These two motives are not incompatible with one another. Rightly balanced, each holds the other in place. It is characteristic of English political development that these two claims—the claim of the individual and the claim of the community—should be recognized concurrently. In 1802, when in matters of industry individualism was at the height of its power, Parliament passed the first Act for compulsory education. And now when the dominant tendency in our social theorizing is in the wider sense collectivist, the most effective argument in educational propaganda is the plea that individual ability should be given an opportunity of realizing its promise and powers. Many of the men who feel most strongly the claims of the community in matters of social organization are the most deeply impressed by the fact that the welfare of the community depends upon there being a high degree of initiative and a vigorous sense of personal responsibility.

among the individual citizens who compose it. It deserves consideration, therefore, what practical steps are necessary if in English education we intend to combine sufficient opportunity for individual development with due regard to the claims of the State.

## II.

Modern theories as to the relation of the State to education date from the writings of Rousseau and from the political discussions among the leaders of the French Revolution. The main outcome of Rousseau's influence was an exaggerated idea of the importance of safeguarding the free intellectual development of every child. The drift of the arguments of the politicians, on the other hand, was to magnify the educational authority of the State. 'The child,' wrote Lepelletier in the scheme of education which Robespierre presented to the Assembly in 1793, 'the child is the property of the State. The State must make the child in its own image.' Thus overstated on either hand, the two claims, which it is the task of statesmen and educators to adjust and to reconcile, came into violent conflict. The result was that the revolutionary movement failed to establish French national education upon a firm basis. Englishmen for the most part rejected each of the two discordant extremes. But, frightened and fascinated by France, they felt the influence of French thought throughout the long debate as to the power which should be assigned to the State in English education.

The debate had begun as far back as 1765 with a battle royal between Priestley and Dr. Brown of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Brown argued that the Government should organize national education with the double purpose of securing patriotism and religious orthodoxy. Priestley retorted that the main object of education is to secure progressive variety, not mechanical uniformity, of opinion; that to make education a monopoly of the Government would tend to stereotype a system which, however excellent at the time of its first introduction, would quickly become obsolete and hurtful; that it is 'an advantage to England

that it contains so great a variety of original characters' ; that this advantage would be destroyed by the pressure of a Government code of education ; and that therefore it would be wise 'to relax the bonds of authority in education rather than bind them faster.' English good sense, combined with indifference to the issue among statesmen who had been brought up to believe that education was too fiery a question to be safely touched, rejected alike Brown's argument for centralized authority and Priestley's plea for unmitigated voluntaryism. Eleven years later Adam Smith said the persuasive word. Higher education could well be left, so far as might be, to the play of supply and demand. But for the masses of the people it was desirable to provide, 'at a very small expense, the most essential parts of education, namely to read, write and account,' because, 'thus instructed, the less liable would they be to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition.' That solution exactly hit the English taste. It combined economy with strong class distinctions in national education. But the nation, occupied by wars and frightened by the French Revolution (the noxious principles of which, it was argued, even the rudiments of an elementary education would enable the labouring classes to assimilate), did not effectively set its hand to the work of national education until 1833, when the intellectual destitution and moral dangers which had been caused by the Industrial Revolution compelled it at last to act.

In the meantime, however, Robert Owen, whose transparent integrity of purpose won him friends even among those to whom his principles were repugnant, had pressed upon the English public ideas about educational organization which were borrowed from French sources. In his *New View of Society*, published in 1816, he laid down the principle that 'any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of the proper means : which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men.' This

'general character' could be secured by education, combined with a suitable form of social reorganization. 'The State, therefore, which shall possess the best national system of education will be the best governed.' Accordingly, the direction of the whole system of national education in England should, he argued, be placed in the hands of Government, which, with the definite object of imprinting upon the beliefs and character of the masses of the people the principles which Owen cherished, was to undertake the duty of training all teachers, of establishing schools everywhere, of appointing the teachers to work in them, and of laying down the canons of belief and conduct by which the people were to live. It is not surprising that Owen's propaganda, with its unconcealed intention of substituting a new form of religious belief for that which was cherished by the majority of the nation, caused Churchmen and Non-conformists alike to shrink from any plan of national education which would place the power of defining a new creed in the hands of the Government. For many years this fact, combined with alarm at the possible political results of popular education, held the upper classes back from the urgent work of aiding schools out of public funds. But in July 1833 Mr. Roebuck addressed the House of Commons in a speech (printed in full in the appendix to Mr. de Montmorency's valuable work on *State Intervention in English Education*) in which he skilfully presented the idea of a comprehensive plan of national education under the control of the Government. He argued that the education of the people should be a matter of national, and not merely of individual concern: that if a parent should neglect the duty of so educating his child as to make him a virtuous citizen, the State ought to step in and see that the duty thus neglected was performed; that every child in Great Britain and Ireland from about six years of age to twelve should be required by law regularly to attend school; but that, in order to prevent any wounding of conscience by the imposition by doctrines of the State, 'the majority of the heads of families should determine the subject-matter of instruction' in each school. Were this

arrangement adopted, Mr. Roebuck had ‘little doubt the heads of families concerned would quickly see the impropriety of forcing or attempting to force upon anyone opinions which they regarded with disfavour.’ With this safeguard, which he thought certain to be effective, Mr. Roebuck would entrust the State with the duty of establishing and conducting training colleges for teachers and of founding schools of different grades in all parts of the country, subject again to the proviso that the teachers should in all cases be chosen by the heads of families in the districts concerned from among the number of those trained by the State. This speech marked a great development of the idea of national education on lines acceptable to Englishmen. Its practical details, it is true, were imperfectly thought out. The safeguards, which Mr. Roebuck thought would protect the conscience of minorities, were quite insufficient for the purpose. And the speaker hurried over the very difficult questions which necessarily arise in connexion with the course of instruction to be laid down in the State training colleges. But he had modified the French idea (adopted by Owen) of imposing on the nation a uniform belief by means of a system of education directed by the State. And he had drawn near to the plan which was ultimately to be adopted as a solution of our difficulties.

Doubtless his speech made a great impression upon those who heard or read it. But Parliamentary action always lags behind the ideas of those who are in the van of opinion. The time was not yet ripe for the recognition of the State as an active agent in educational organization. Accordingly, in the month following Mr. Roebuck’s motion, the Government proposed and carried by fifty votes to twenty-six a resolution ‘that a sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of school-houses for the education of the children of the poorer classes in Great Britain, to the 31st day of March 1834; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or deduction whatever.’ As there was no State machinery for the administration of the new grant, the Treasury availed itself of the

services of the two great societies which were engaged in the work of popular education—the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society—and made grants in aid of the building of new school-houses in accordance with their recommendations, on the condition that half the cost was met by voluntary contributions. This grant, made annually after 1833, marks the true beginning of modern methods of State action in English national education. The plan adopted for its distribution was wise and just. Those who devised it shewed a true perception of the balance of English opinion upon this difficult subject. Help was given to the two societies, each representative of a vast body of English opinion, which had already rendered signal service to the cause of elementary education. The French idea of an educational monopoly in the hands of the State had been rejected. But the theory that the State should bear no part in aiding national education was equally discarded. A new relation between the State and education had been devised. And the beginning thus made was destined to lead to a long succession of fruitful developments—a fact which shews that the plan was in accordance with the sense of fair play, characteristic of the English temper.

In 1839 another great step was made. It was clear that the State must have some machinery for the administration of the grant now made annually in aid of elementary education. Accordingly, an Order in Council was published, appointing a Committee of the Privy Council to administer the grant. The House of Lords, in protest against the appointment of the Committee, adopted an address to the Queen by 229 votes to 118. Feeling in the House of Commons was also strong. A motion for a similar address to her Majesty was rejected by the narrow majority of five votes. But the Government held its ground, and the foundation of what is now the Education Department was laid. The plan, however, for the establishment of a State training college, the nature of which had been the chief reason for the opposition to the formation of the Committee of Council, was subsequently abandoned, and

with its abandonment disappeared the last vestige of the old idea that the State, instead of acting as the supervisor of different types of educational effort within the nation, should itself take an active part as an organizer of educational institutions under its own direct management and control. Dr. Kay (afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) was appointed secretary to the Committee of Council in 1839, and under his influence the Central Authority at once adopted a line of policy which assuaged suspicion and gave due recognition to the different organizations already engaged in the work of national organization. By an arrangement as to the appointment of Government inspectors for Church schools the support of the Church of England was secured. A few years later a concordat on similar principles was made with the British and Foreign School Society, and the same privilege was afterwards accorded to other Nonconformists. Thus, through the long conflict between opposing opinions, the English Government was led to the establishment of a relation between the State and education which deserves to be described as an administrative discovery of great importance. It was not a mere compromise between contending interests. It rested upon two definite principles, namely : (1) That the State must have regard to national education, and must by means of grants promote its efficiency while assuring itself by inspection of the right expenditure of the money voted by Parliament ; and (2) that in the interests of national unity and of religious freedom the State must not itself undertake the direct organization of education, seeing that the latter is necessarily in some of its aspects 'chose espiritual,' a spiritual thing, but should act as an impartial supervisor of such parts of the work of other organizations as rightly fall within its purview.

This administrative principle, however, was not to remain unchallenged. In 1847 Mr. Edward Baines of Leeds published *An Alarm to the Nation on the Unjust, Unconstitutional and Dangerous Measure of State Education proposed by the Government*. In this pamphlet he attacked the policy involved in the Minutes of the Committee of

Council issued in December 1846. Those Minutes developed an elaborate system of Government grants in aid of the salaries of teachers in elementary schools and of the work of the training colleges. Mr. Baines' letter was the most vigorous defence of pure voluntaryism in national education which had appeared since Priestley issued his *Remarks on a Code of Education* in 1765. It had been the boast of England that its people were self-governed and self-educated : and to these features in their national system had been owing in a great measure the robust energy of the national character. . . . The measure proposed by the Government was calculated altogether to change this system and to introduce a Continental system new and strange into England. . . . It would lead to an enormous extension of Government influence, as the teachers would become in great measure dependent upon State aid. It would entail a prodigal expenditure of public money. It would form in the country what was virtually a new religious establishment, an appendage to the Church, and would give new legislative sanction to the teaching of the Church Catechism. It was a violation of the Constitution, because it effected mighty changes, as new in principle as in detail, by a mere Minute of the Committee of Council and a vote of the House of Commons on the Estimates, without an Act of Parliament. 'Adopt, my Countrymen,' he concluded, 'as your only safe motto—No Government interference with Education.'

In the following year an able course of lectures was given at Crosby Hall, London, from the same point of view, under the auspices of the Congregational Board of Education. Among the lecturers were Mr. Baines, Dr. Hamilton, and Mr. Edward Miall. The latter, in an earnest appeal in favour of the principle that Government should not interfere with popular education, argued that

'it is neither the duty of Civil Governments, nor would it be for the interest of their subjects, to make legal provision for the education of the people. . . . The care of mind does not fall within the range of its duties, and cannot be assumed without injuring the people it is professedly taken up to serve. . . .

A greater misfortune cannot befall a people than to have their intellectual habits gradually encroached upon by Government.'

A few years later a similar argument was developed by Mr. Herbert Spencer in *Social Statics*.

'In the same way that our definition of State-duty forbids the State to administer religion and charity, so likewise does it forbid the State to administer education. . . . The rights of children are not violated by the neglect of their education. . . . Omitting instruction in no way takes from a child's freedom to do what it wills in the best way it can, and this freedom is all that equity demands. What is meant by saying that a government ought to educate the people? What is education for? Clearly to fit the people for social life—to make them good citizens. And who is to say what are good citizens? The Government: there is no other judge. And who is to say how these good citizens may be made? The Government: there is no other judge. Hence the proposition is convertible into this—a government ought to mould children into good citizens, using its own discretion in settling what a good citizen is, and how the child may be moulded into one. It must first form for itself a definite conception of a pattern citizen; and having done this, must elaborate such system of discipline as seems best calculated to produce citizens after that pattern. This system of discipline it is bound to enforce to the uttermost. . . . A minute dictation like this, which extends to every action and will brook no nay, is the legitimate realization of the State-education theory.'

But the country remained unconvinced by the extreme theory of voluntaryism in national education, just as it had rejected the converse theory of all-embracing State regulation of educational methods and ideals when it was advocated by Robert Owen. Some *via media* was desired by the nation, and the history of educational controversies in England during the last seventy years is a record of a long series of efforts to devise in practice a relation between the State and education which will combine in due measure freedom and authority, individual initiative and collective control. Towards this solution John Stuart Mill rendered considerable aid. In the essay 'On Liberty' he argued, as against the voluntaryists, that 'to bring a child into exist-

ence without a fair prospect of being able not only to provide food for its body but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime, both against the unfortunate offspring and against society,' and that 'if the parent does not fulfil this obligation, the State ought to see it fulfilled, at the charge, as far as possible, of the parent.' On the other hand, as against the advocates of State monopoly in education, he concluded that

'a general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another ; and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the Government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body. An education established and controlled by the State should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence.'

Mill maintained that the Government should make up its mind to require for every child a good education, and then save itself the trouble of providing it. But the instrument by which he suggested the Government could ascertain whether its requirements were met, was the very unsuitable one of

' public examinations, extending to all children, and beginning at an early age. . . . Once in every year the examination should be renewed with a gradually extending range of subjects, so as to make the universal acquisition and, what is more, retention of a certain minimum of general knowledge, virtually compulsory.'

He had not realized the ingenuity of the crammer or the inadequacy of a mere examination to test the real efficiency, even the purely intellectual efficiency, of a school. Nor did he dispose in any satisfactory manner of the further objection that in fixing a range of subjects for these compulsory examinations the State would in fact exert a determinative influence over the curriculum—an influence which might be exerted in a way detrimental to the development

of the very diversities of thought and interest which he, with Wilhelm von Humboldt, regarded as being of 'absolute and fundamental importance.'

'To prevent the State from exercising an improper influence over opinion,' he wrote, 'the knowledge required for passing an examination (beyond the merely instrumental parts of knowledge such as languages and their use) should, even in the higher classes of examinations, be confined to facts and positive science exclusively. The examinations on religion, politics, or other disputed topics should not turn on the truth or falsehood of opinions, but on the matter of fact that such and such an opinion is held on such grounds by such authors, or schools or Churches.'

But such a system of examination, invested with all the importance of a compulsory State test upon the passing of which every boy's future would in great measure depend, would inevitably tend to the memorizing of masses of facts and to the discouragement of the training of the powers of imagination, criticism, and judgement.

In spite of all that has been written against the interference by Government, the last sixty years have been distinguished by a steady and remarkable growth of State action in English education. The power of the State has asserted itself in every grade and department of educational work. In 1847 the new system of Government aid to elementary schools and training colleges, accompanied by regular inspection, was fairly started. In 1850 Royal Commissions were appointed to enquire into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This action of the State was resisted on principle by many men of high authority at Oxford, but from the reports of these two Commissions date nearly all the changes which have modernized the ancient Universities. In 1853 the Charitable Trusts Act constituted the Charity Commission. In the same year the establishment of the Department of Science and Art marked, not indeed the first beginnings of State encouragement of the teaching of art and science (those date from 1836 and 1852 respectively), but the determination to organize this branch of the educational service upon a widely influential scale.

In 1861 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the nine higher secondary schools which stood highest in social estimation—Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's, and Merchant Taylors'. Upon the findings of this Commission, an Act of Parliament was passed which provided for the appointment of new governing bodies for the schools in question. In 1864 another Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the education given in the rest of the endowed secondary schools. By an afterthought this Commission was charged with the duty of considering the higher educational needs of girls. It conducted enquiries for three years, and then published a report upon 572 secondary schools. For this Commission Matthew Arnold made enquiries in Germany, France, and Switzerland, and returned to England with the message to his countrymen, 'Organize your secondary and higher education.' From the report of this Commission dates the systematic reorganization of educational endowments in England. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 empowered the State, through Commissioners, to enquire into and reorganize the administration of the great majority of smaller endowed secondary schools. Provision was rapidly made for the secondary education of girls. In 1870 Mr. Gladstone's Government passed the Elementary Education Act, which laid it down that there should be provided for every district a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools available for all the children living in the district for whose elementary education suitable provision was not otherwise made. The object of the Act was to establish a national system of elementary education, open to every child, whatever the religious belief of his parents. During the years 1871 to 1875, the claims of scientific and technical instruction were urged by the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction. The Science and Art Department, which for many years previously had encouraged classes in all parts of the country, began in 1872 to give grants to a new type of secondary school, in the curriculum of which physical science and manual training had a predominant place. In 1876 the law declared for the

first time that it was the duty of every parent to cause his child to receive elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Non-performance of the duty was punished by legal penalties. In 1880 the requirement of compulsory attendance at elementary schools was further strengthened. In 1889 an Act gave to the County and County Borough Councils (established in 1888) the power of organizing technical instruction, a power which really carried with it that of aiding instruction in science, modern languages, and commercial subjects in secondary schools, while in 1890 a further Act supplied out of the Customs and Excise Duties large funds out of which, at the discretion of the new local education authority, grants in aid of technical and scientific teaching might be made. In this way, secondary and technical education were brought into close connexion with the local authorities and received increasing subsidies from the State. Further, the same tendency towards increased State action has shewn itself in the sphere of University work. In 1889, Parliament first made an annual grant of money in aid of the newer universities and university colleges. In all cases the State exercises the right of inspecting the institutions to which it thus gives financial help.

It might appear from this series of changes that during the last seventy years the State has been advancing by rapid strides towards the complete control of English education. But when the matter is examined more closely it is seen that this is by no means the case. Checks have been carefully devised to prevent any undue growth of the power of the central authority. The local education authorities form one set of checks. Another group is found in the privileges of the great professions, the latter being largely autonomous under the general sanction of the State. Moreover, much of the growth in the supervisory powers of the central authority has been welcomed by all concerned, because it has been accompanied by financial aid from the Treasury, granted impartially though not always uniformly, to educational institutions which are under very different forms of control and represent a variety of traditions and

points of view. Still more significant is the fact that a great part of the action of the State has been designed to secure individual liberty and not centralized control. Extension of religious liberty has been one of the chief aims. By changes in old statutes, Nonconformists have been given full access to the older universities. Endowed secondary schools have been opened to pupils of all beliefs. In the sphere of public elementary education the conscience clause has been made compulsory in every school, a change against which Archdeacon Denison protested as long as he lived.

'A State of the character of the State of England in Century XIX.', he wrote in *Notes of My Life*, 1805-1878, 'will have first what is called the "comprehensive school" (*i.e.* a school having a definite religious character, Church of England, Roman Catholic, or Dissenting as the case may be, but admitting children of all persuasions or none under a conscience clause); next what is called the "combined school" (*i.e.* a school without any definite religious character, admitting all children to the advantages of secular education, the clergy and ministers of different denominations attending at certain hours to give religious lessons). The Church can never, if it would be found faithful, have the "comprehensive school" in that sense of the word "comprehensive" in which the State employs the term. It may indeed "comprehend" other than Church children in its schools, as it sees occasion, for missionary purposes; but this exclusively upon its own terms only. The Church can never have the "combined" school in any sense. The State comprehends not for any spiritual purposes at all but for temporal purposes only—political, social, economical.'

The judgement of the great majority of Churchmen has not gone with Archdeacon Denison's in this condemnation of the conscience clause in voluntary schools. In the circumstances which prevail in the vast majority of cases, it has been felt that the spiritual advantage of strengthened social unity outweighs the very doubtful benefit of territorial monopoly and resented privilege. In a second respect the results of the educational policy of the State during the last thirty years have been liberative not restrictive. Secondary and higher education have been thrown open to girls and women, a change of the greatest moment in

national life. Thirdly, the action of the State has been directed to the broadening of courses of study, and to the provision of new subjects of study, alike in elementary and secondary schools and in universities, in order to meet a wider range of individual aptitude. Fourthly by encouraging a very liberal provision of scholarships, the State has opened up secondary, technical, and university education to thousands of students who would otherwise have been held back from those advantages by the narrowness of their means. Thus the main purpose of English educational policy during the last two generations has been to combine increased liberty for the individual with reasonable rights of supervision on the part of the State. And the fact that the result of this policy has been to enhance the efficiency of national education to a remarkable degree while at the same time strengthening the sense of national unity shews that the foundation upon which the policy rests is sound. For another reason the procedure has been wise. We have been, and are still, passing through a period of rapid change alike in mental outlook, in social structure, and in economic organization. In such a period there is always a danger of conflict between old and new. Yet at this very time it became imperatively necessary that we should quickly make up arrears of duty in regard to national education, a subject about which men are justly sensitive. English educational policy, at once liberative and constructive, and at one and the same time individualizing and unifying, has enabled the nation to accomplish much of a great and delicate task which, if approached in the spirit of monopoly, would have been impossible, and if left to voluntary effort would by reason of its costliness and administrative complexity have been abandoned in despair.

### III.

But the controversies which sprang from the Education Act of 1902 have raised afresh some of the old issues. Those labour under a great mistake who dismiss the whole dispute as a worrying squabble over trifles. The roots of

the questions upon which Nonconformists and Churchmen feel deeply go down to the very foundations of the State. The points really at issue are : (1) What, if any, are the rights of the individual as against the authority of the organized State ? (2) Does education necessarily involve the question of personal belief about the ultimate problems of human destiny ? And (3) are Englishmen sufficiently agreed as to the form of social organization, under which they are willing to live, as to consent to entrust the moulding of that social organization to the authoritative power of the centralized State, and, further, to give to the State the full right of so determining the course and spirit of national education as, in S. T. Coleridge's words, 'to form and train up the people of the country to be obedient, free, useful, and organizable subjects, living to the benefit of the State and prepared to die in its defence' ? On all these points conflicting opinions are held by men of weighty judgement, high motive, and wide experience. And yet is it beyond hope that, by endeavouring to enter sympathetically into the convictions of those who are opposed to us, we may find it possible, if not to compose the quarrel, at any rate to agree to some *modus vivendi* ?

It may be asked why should all these points of controversy have arisen at the present time. The reason lies not so much in the form of the Education Act of 1902—though that and the circumstances in which it was passed have had much to do with it—as in the intellectual and spiritual conditions of the time and the grave political and social problems with which the nation is beset. Many feel the need for closer cohesion, and for greater clearness of principle, in the organization of our national life. Some feel this mainly in respect of education and of the moral discipline which true education implies ; others feel it mainly in regard to the economic organization of the country, alike in its internal and external aspects ; others feel it mainly in regard to national defence. Those who are convinced of the need for some such more definite organization of national resources, whether intellectual and moral or economic or defensive, find themselves driven to the con-

clusion that the hope of securing what they believe to be necessary depends upon the strengthening of the powers of the central authority of the State. But the effective exercise of such powers (and any reasoned forecast of the practical details of such exercise) necessarily raises the first of the three difficult questions mentioned above—viz. what, if any, rights has the dissentient individual as against the exerted authority of the organized State? But in any effective organization of the State, education in the widest sense of the term must inevitably be an instrument of the first importance. If, however, education is, in the words of the old statute, ‘a spiritual thing,’ if in some of its necessary aspects it compels us to face and to make up our minds about those problems of human duty and destiny with which religion is concerned, we find ourselves confronted with the difficulty that great numbers of men who are intensely religious feel with Mr. Baines, that ‘the question of education being implicated with that of religion, the serious objections which apply to Government interference with religion apply also to Government interference with education.’ Yet education is, *ex hypothesi*, a necessary instrument for the purposes of government. Can we, then, it is asked, escape from the dilemma by separating religious teaching—possibly at great loss, but as the lesser of two evils—from the course of education imparted by the State, remitting it to the exclusive care of the family and the Church? But, thirdly, if this difficulty be thus avoided rather than overcome, is there fair reason for thinking that the whole English people will be ‘organizable’ under some one form of disciplinary and directive State? Or is it still true of us, as the drafter of the Solemn League and Covenant said in 1646 in his *Death-Bed Declaration*, that ‘the English are a people so naturally inclined to freedom that they can hardly be induced to embrace any discipline which may abridge it’?

There is a disposition in some quarters to argue that, in so far as concerns education which is aided out of public funds, no individual has any rights as against the decision of the local authority for the area in which he is a rate-

payer. But if this view be sound, it follows *a fortiori* that, in so far as concerns education which is aided out of public funds, no individual has any rights as against the decision (if pressed) of the central authority of the State in the country of which he is a taxpaying citizen, because the rights of the State are, in case of necessity, demonstrably sovereign over the rights of the smaller area, the latter being merely one out of many divisions of its territory marked off for administrative convenience. In other words, an individual has no grievance if (after failing to remove the legal government by constitutional means or to change its purpose by argument or by refusal of obedience on conscientious grounds) he is required to pay, whether in rates or taxes, towards the provision of kinds of teaching to which on principle he objects. Is not this, however, an unnecessarily hard conclusion? The main purpose of national policy is to secure the moral unity of the nation as the chief guarantee of social well-being, of economic power, and of effective defence. But the organized authority of the State is not identical with the nation. The nation is something wider than the organization which is set up for purposes of administrative convenience. The nation comprises both the mass of individual citizens who compose it and the administrative organization to which is entrusted the practical duties of government. From this it follows that in the last resort, when all constitutional forms of protest and dissent have been fruitlessly tried, the individual has a moral right to resist the decision of that organized body of directive agents and subordinate officials to which we give the name of the State. And this right inheres not only in the individual but in groups of individuals bound together by common principles and in a united purpose. The majority of the citizens have the corresponding right, if they care to exercise it, of expelling such a recalcitrant individual or group of individuals from the country. But it is clear that from such procedure any wise majority would shrink as long as possible, and that the right of expulsion would only be exercised by them in circumstances which make the continued residence of the dissentient

minority perilous to the security of the nation. Therefore, in order to avoid the inconvenience and danger of these disputes, it is expedient so to frame the laws of the country as to permit a large measure of effective freedom of choice to dissentient minorities. This is true of laws concerning education. Instead of imposing one uniform system upon all citizens, it is desirable to recognize the claims of minorities to have (subject to the general condition of public order) the kind of education congenial to their principles. And such recognition of their claims is not adequately made when it merely consists in a permission to establish at their own expense schools as an alternative to others to which they have already contributed their quota in rates and taxes. Always subject to the condition of public order, the advisable course is either to provide out of the common fund of rates and taxes the various kinds of education which the different categories of citizens prefer, or to allow dissentient groups to assign, to the maintenance of schools of the type preferred by them, that part of their quota of rates and taxes which is over and above the share justly falling upon them of the cost of common administrative services, or of such branches of the educational system as are acceptable to all citizens, and of the debt-charge, if any, which has been incurred by common consent for educational services accepted by all. The first of these two policies is the more convenient, and it is that which, ever since the passing of the Act of 1902, has been legally recognized in English elementary as well as secondary education. But if in its practical application it wounds consciences, the second policy (that of a limited right of allocation of rates and taxes) is a feasible alternative.

A way of escape from the difficulties which arise through differences of conviction about religious teaching in schools is seen by some in a plan for uniformly secularizing all schools and colleges which receive aid from public funds. For example, on September 7 last the Trade Union Congress at Bath adopted by 1,239,000 votes to 126,000 a resolution that there should be in England 'a national system of education under full popular control, free and secular, from the primary school to the university.' When

elementary education was regarded as simply consisting in learning to read, to write, and to cast simple sums, it was natural that many should argue that religion was a separable part of education, and might be omitted without necessarily injuring the intellectual efficiency of what remained. But a great change has taken place in the ordinarily accepted view of the purpose of the work of the elementary school. In 1903 the English Board of Education defined the aim of an elementary school for the first time. Its definition was received with hearty approval on the part of the public, a fact which proved that the Board's definition harmonized with national feeling. It is stated in the first words of the definition that 'the purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character . . . of the children entrusted to it.' Now, though this view is by no means universally held, the prevailing conviction in England is that, if education is to mould and strengthen character, it must not only have a religious spirit, but must give the children, in a form appropriate to their age and development, a basis of personal belief in regard to spiritual things. 'Yes,' it may perhaps be replied, 'that is true enough, but there is no reason why the children should go without religious instruction, even if none is given in the public elementary school. The home will give it, or the Sunday school.' How far this is likely to be universally true, and true in some cases of urgent need, the reader will judge. But allowing, for the sake of argument, that religious instruction, if banished from the elementary schools, would be given to the children by some other means elsewhere, it must still be pointed out that the secularization of the schools would not necessarily put an end to the religious difficulty in national education. Any statute which secularized every school in England in receipt of any grants from public funds would be deeply resented by vast multitudes of English men and women, who would be resolved to secure its repeal by persistent argument and agitation. Moreover, the residue of a course of elementary education from which religious teaching had been excluded would not be devoid of subjects

of controversy. History is now a compulsory subject in all public elementary schools in England. Yet who can effectively teach history without dealing—not, of course, in a controversial spirit—with the bearing of some great religious issues which have been or are the subject-matter of controversy. It is also true of the teaching of parts of literature that matters arise in regard to which men profoundly differ in personal conviction.

It would be lamentable, however, were we, for mere reasons of administrative convenience, to content ourselves with a form of education that would fail to touch the whole nature of the pupil. And when all references to religious beliefs are excluded by statute, some new source of moral power has to be introduced into the schools in order to fill the vacuum. Thus it might well come about that the idea of the State would begin to acquire an almost sacred authority. It is excellent, indeed, that every child should grow up with a feeling of personal responsibility towards the society of which he is a member. But is there not a real danger of there being enthroned in the schools, almost like a new divinity, the idea of the modern State, armed for war and commercial in many of its half-avowed ambitions? Tolstoi has some reason for his distrust of the tendency to make the modern State an object of emotional enthusiasm on the part of impressionable children. Do we not need in education the influence of a far deeper faith?

'Education,' Dean Church wrote in 1873, 'is worthy of its name only when it deliberately sets before itself as its purpose, however it may be hampered in realizing it, that its office is not merely to sharpen the wits or impart information or cultivate faculties, but to ensure, as far as possible, that when children pass into men they shall recognise their Eternal Father; they shall know who died to save them; they shall feel from whose hand they came and what they were made for; their eyes shall be opened to the high calling of duty now, to that unspeakable future of holiness and love and rest which is the goal of all our running.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pascal, and other Sermons* (Macmillan), p. 219.

It remains to attempt a brief answer to the third of the questions named above as having arisen out of the educational controversy. Every system of education implies a social ideal. The ideal need not be elaborately formulated, but it affects the point of view of those who assimilate the teaching of the school and influences their outlook on life. There is some reason for thinking that the ultimate cause of our educational divisions in England, divisions which run back to a point long before the Reformation, is a conflict, half-unconscious, between two social ideals. Omitting the vast multitude of the indifferent, we find that in many parts of England, and noticeably in some districts of East Anglia, there have long been two groups among us, divided from one another by some radical difference in temperament, and inclining to very different forms of social organization. The one group is by instinct inclined to favour an almost hierarchical order of society, which admits, however, within certain broad lines of status a very large measure of personal independence as well as of intellectual freedom, besides encouraging the promotion of individuals of signal ability from humble circumstances to a position of high social eminence and authority. The other group is by instinct inclined to favour a democratic order of society, in which, however, when necessity arises, the collective will imposes very severe personal restraint upon individuals both in regard to matters of opinion and to questions of conduct. The one group inclines to the older ideal in religion, with its regard for the authority of revered tradition and of the society in which the individual is merged. The other inclines to that form of religious belief which throws unique stress upon individual responsibility and sets little store by the authority of the past. Each of these groups is predisposed in favour of an educational tradition which, unconsciously rather than consciously, embodies its social ideal. It is perhaps this inner conflict between two dimly formulated social ideals which has broken out into flame at several critical points in English history, and which, far more than any theological differences, explains the persistent struggle between two educational traditions. If this view

has any foundation, we are more likely to find educational peace by agreeing to differ than by endeavouring to secure the universal acceptance of one single type of school.

## IV.

In the suggestive essays on a number of grave political problems which Dr. Flinders Petrie, the famous Egyptologist, has just published, under the title of *Janus in Modern Life*, great stress is laid upon the importance of securing greater diversity of type in modern education. 'Amid the great variety of minds in England, which is illustrated by the free choice of religious belief and practice, we require a great diversity of education to bring out the best development of each type.' It is to be regretted, therefore, that, in their recently issued regulations for secondary schools, the Board of Education disclose a tendency to depart from the wise and well-established principle of awarding grants at the same rate to all types of recognized secondary schools which attain the required level of efficiency. For the first time grants are now to be paid upon a differential scale to two categories of secondary school, the two categories not being divided from one another on grounds of efficiency, but upon certain administrative conditions—e.g. whether or not the governing body of the school contains a majority of representative governors appointed by local representative authorities or elected by popular local constituencies; or whether the school sets aside a proportion (ordinarily a quarter) of its places without payment of a fee to scholars from public elementary schools; or upon religious grounds—e.g. whether the instrument by which the school is governed requires a majority of the governors to belong to any particular religious denomination. It is unfortunate that the Board should have decided to aid the one category of schools at the expense of the second, by reducing the grants payable to the one in order to increase the rate of those payable to the other. But a still more serious change in the new regulations is the announcement that in future no schools (apart from those already in receipt of grants from

the Board) will be placed on the grant list unless such a majority of the members of their governing body are popularly elected, and unless the constitution of the school is purely undenominational or secular. There is no valid reason for thinking that it will be good for English secondary education to come universally under the control of local authorities. The presumption is in favour of variety of administration and of diversity of type. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the Board may decide hereafter to revert to its earlier and juster method of recognizing all types of efficient secondary schools as eligible for grant.

A similar objection may be taken to the recent change in the policy of the Board of Education with regard to training colleges. The new regulations seem designed less for the encouragement of educational efficiency than to deal a blow at denominational training colleges. As was pointed out in the dignified and temperate protest addressed to the Prime Minister last month by the Bishops of Birmingham, Liverpool, Oxford, Southwark, and Wakefield, the new regulations will disturb the unity and effectiveness of the religious life of the denominational training colleges without adding a single place to the residential accommodation in them. They also forbid the establishment of new denominational training colleges ; refuse permission for undenominational hostels in connexion with Church colleges, and hamper the efforts which are being made to provide Church hostels for Church students attending day training colleges. The new policy of the Board is in sudden and conspicuous contrast to the well-established tradition of previous administration. It contravenes the sound principle of even-handed justice in the administration of public grants in accordance with attested efficiency. It is greatly to be hoped that the local education authorities may more generally avail themselves of the offer of the Board to contribute three-quarters of the cost of building new undenominational training colleges. The right solution is for the State to recognize, and impartially to aid, different types of colleges in accordance with the convictions and preferences of different sections of the community.

The contention of this article is that under the conditions which prevail in England the part of the State is to inspect, recognize, encourage, and (when needful) aid every kind of efficient and needed school: aiming at the strengthening of educational freedom, not at any restriction of it; at the planning and record of careful and systematic experiments in education; at the liberal encouragement of educational research of all kinds; and at the wide diffusion among all concerned (and especially among teachers and the members of local education authorities) of accurate reports of educational developments and experiments, in order that we may have the guidance of well-informed and skilfully observant professional opinion.

For the social and economic welfare of England it is indispensable that we should make strenuous efforts to raise the level of our education, both in elementary and in secondary schools. So costly will be this work of improvement and reform, that we cannot hope to secure the funds necessary for its accomplishment unless we find some means of attaining greater unity of purpose in regard to educational policy. That unity of purpose cannot be gained unless the religious convictions of all sections of the community are met with fairness. The way to educational peace lies through religious liberty and in freedom for the teacher to teach what he believes.

M. E. SADLER.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

### I.—BIBLICAL STUDIES.

*The Gift of Tongues, and other Essays.* By DAWSON WALKER, D.D. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1906.) 4s. 6d. net.

THE opening essay, which gives its title to the book, is an attempt to harmonize the various references to the Gift of Tongues in Acts and 1 Corinthians. The position stated briefly is that the references in 1 Corinthians suggest that one form of the gift was speech in foreign languages—always to God, not men—and the special suggestion with regard to Acts ii. is that the utterances

took place in the Temple and consisted of the Shema and eighteen benedictions. We still think that Tongues were unintelligible sounds (*cf.* 1 Cor. xiv. 2 : the quotation in v. 21 simply illustrates the purpose of the gift), and that interpretation was always a gift of the Spirit and given to few. The difficulty of Acts ii. is that vv. 12, 13 would naturally suggest the usual form of the phenomenon, were it not for vv. 6b-11; also v. 6b reads like a comment and v. 7a is parallel to v. 12. Those who are not prepared to cut the knot can only suspend judgement.

The second and third essays deal with the Galatian Epistle. There can be little question that Professor Ramsay has failed to prove his point as to the source of the legal language in this Epistle ; nor has the matter any real bearing on the destination of the letter. We are equally satisfied that Dr. Sanday, in answer to Professor Ramsay, established the correctness of the usual identification of the visit mentioned in Galatians ii. with Acts xv., when he claimed that the facts assumed in Gal. ii. 1-10 presuppose the first missionary journey.

In the last essay the early date for St. Luke's Gospel and Acts is urged. The language of St. Luke xxii. is not sufficiently accounted for by the needs of Gentile readers and the influence of the book of Daniel. Too many of the arguments virtually rest upon the precarious basis of silence, and the question 'Why hasn't he . . . ?' rarely carries far. The volume generally is fresh and interesting, and should be welcomed.

*The Fourfold Portrait of the Heavenly King as presented in the Gospels.* A New Translation of the Gospels side by side with the Authorised and Revised Versions, Quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures, and Parallel Passages arranged to facilitate Comparison of the Gospel Narratives. By 'INTERPRETER.' (Elliot Stock, 1907.) *1l. 11s. 6d.*

It came somewhat as a surprise to find that in this volume the results of all the work which has been done on the sources of the Gospels are put aside. We are asked to study and harmonize the fourfold portrait by recognition of the purpose with which each evangelist wrote. It is assumed that the evangelists had large masses of material to draw upon and used only such as served their purpose. The study of the Gospels from this standpoint may have a value, but can scarcely claim to be scientific.

We are reluctant to criticize the translation, because we are conscious how familiarity makes change unwelcome. Many renderings are commonplace and prosy, as, for instance, 'Is your sight distorted, because I am generous?' but the rendering of St. John i. 2 is altogether misleading. 'This Word was in the beginning a revelation of God.' The passage is not at the moment concerned with revelation, and  $\pi\!\rho\!\dot{\imath}\!s \tau\!o\!v \theta\!e\!o\!v$  cannot bear such a meaning.

The labour involved in producing this work must have been enormous, its price is prohibitive except for scholars and libraries, and we can only express deep regret that its editor having done so much should have withheld the little more which would have made it a possession of great and permanent value.

*The Letters of St. Paul to Seven Churches and Three Friends with the Letter to the Hebrews.* Translated by ARTHUR S. WAY, M.A. Second edition revised. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906.) Price 5s. net.

THE former edition of this scholarly and useful version was reviewed in our pages in January 1902. We are glad to find that the Epistle to the Hebrews has now been added, for it certainly needs an explanatory translation no less than the letters of St. Paul.

The rhetoric of Hebrews is a severe rhetoric which leans to economy in words, and Mr. Way is continually compelled to fill up the pregnant phrases. This is often done exceedingly well, as in ix. 14,  $\nu\!e\!k\rho\!w\!n \acute{e}\!r\gamma\!w\!n$ , 'works of the Law, out of which all the old life has gone'; xi. 13, 'They had not received the fulfilment of God's promises; but they had descried it afar, and had hailed the vision'; xi. 3, where the difficult  $e\!i\!s \tau\!o \mu\!n\!i\ldots \gamma\!e\!y\!o\!r\!e\!v\!a\!i$  is thus handled: 'It is through faith that we discern that the epochs of our earth's development were moulded by the fiat of God, that it was not His design that the world which we now look upon should be the outcome of a process of evolution from nothing but matter palpable to our senses.' Yet, lucid as this is, how much finer is the terse original! How impossible, again, to render adequately  $v\!i\!o\!s$  or  $\theta\!e\!o\!s \zeta\!o\!v$  where they stand in this Epistle without the article: 'An awful thing it is to fall into the hands of a Living God' (x. 31) falls far short of the imaginative  $\phi\!o\!b\!e\!r\!o\!n \tau\!o \acute{e}\!m\!p\!e\!s\!e\!i\!n e\!i\!s \chi\!e\!r\!a\!s \theta\!e\!o\!v \zeta\!o\!n\!t\!o\!s$ . On the other hand, 'I will be to them GOD' (viii. 10) is as simple as it is admirable. Why did not our Revisers hit upon it?

Still more difficult is the supplying of words to mark the connexion between sentences and paragraphs. This is at least as much required in Hebrews as in St. Paul's Epistles, and the question occurs why it should be so needful in a careful rhetorical composition. The obvious answer would be that this Epistle is not a careful rhetorical composition, but a real letter written from some person to his own friends who share his interest in the subject treated, who have discussed it with him already, and who can interpret his brevity out of a common stock of thought. Mr. Way's translation supports such an answer, both by its success in bringing out in many places the intensity of the author's purpose and his intimate personal affection towards his readers, and perhaps also by its comparative failure, where he loses sight of the particular purpose of the writer and the definite circumstances of the readers. Mr. Way speaks rather confidently on these points in his introduction. The author he is inclined to identify with Apollos, a mere conjecture which affects the interpretation of the Epistle very little. The readers

'were probably the Christian Jews in Palestine, perhaps in Jerusalem itself, upon whom strong pressure was constantly being put in order to make them renounce their faith, and return to the synagogue. . . . The Epistle was most likely written just before the outbreak of the war which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem.'

This may be right, though each of these probabilities has been denied, and there are undoubtedly strong reasons against supposing that 'the Christian Jews in Jerusalem' are addressed, if the whole Church in Jerusalem is meant by that designation. Could such a letter, with its philosophical technicalities and learned style, have been written to a 'Church' at all? Is it not more likely to have been addressed by a scholar to a few intimate friends, thinkers and scholars like himself? And are there not many touches in the Epistle that bring this out, as in xii. 15, where *οἱ πολλοὶ* may mean, not as Mr. Way takes it, 'the greater part of you,' but the mass of the Church as opposed to this little circle? Author and readers were probably Jews. This appears, not from their familiarity with the ritual of the Temple—an argument which Mr. Way wisely leaves alone—but from that more subtle familiarity with Jewish ways of thinking which seems (though many do not recognize it) to underlie the whole argument, and is mingled in an interesting manner with the broader Hellenism of these men, who do not seem to have been quite at home with their less liberal brethren. This

partial estrangement appears in several places—perhaps in xiii. 1, where instead of ‘Let love for your brother-believers be a fixed principle with you,’ we should prefer to paraphrase, ‘Let the visible service of love to the brethren continue even through these troubled times’ ; for it is surely plain that whether or no the outbreak of the Roman war was the occasion, the lot of these men had fallen on troubled times ; they were suffering not so much a persecution as an insidious trial to their loyalty ; there is *ἀπάτη* (iii. 13) in the sin that threatens them ; to hold to Christ will be ‘a shame’ ; to give the Faith up an ‘honour rooted in dishonour.’ At least so the author would persuade them. The point is, however, that it is a real letter, intended to bring the readers’ moral courage to the sticking-point. Arguments and appeals are all concentrated on one plain duty that has now to be done, on one hard act of choice—

ἐπειθ' ἐλοῦ γε θάτερ', ἢ φροεῖν κακῶς,  
ἢ τῶν φίλων φρονοῦσα μὴ μνήμην ἔχειν.

That such a real letter, throbbing with definite and passionate purpose, should contain an elaborate Christological argument, is accounted for if we suppose the readers to be most imperfect in their ideas about the Person of Christ, holding a kind of Unitarian creed which would be peculiarly attractive to Jewish Hellenists ; while, of course, it would be just the kind of creed for which they would hesitate to give up friends or honour. They had probably talked the Christological question over with their friend from time to time, and this treatise-like letter is sent as a sequel to such conversations. Presupposing them, the author can omit a good deal which would have made his argument clearer to us. That it is a much-revised and highly polished piece does not seem consistent with a certain carelessness of rhythm and style which is not infrequent,<sup>1</sup> and it is perhaps a legitimate conjecture that the ‘primitive errors’ of text in vii. 1 (*ὅς συναντήσας*), x. 1 (*ἔχων δὲ νόμος . . . ἀς προσφέρουσιν . . . δύνανται*), and possibly xi. 35 (*γυναῖκας*, but see the half-obliterated reading in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus), go back *usque ad ultimam antiquitatem*, and represent slips of the pen in the original letter, which, winning its place in the Canon rather late, was not much copied at first, and so had a fair chance of sending its little inaccuracies well down the stream of tradition.

Now this concentrated and special purpose of the letter

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Blass, *Brief an die Hebräer*, p. 7.

seems sometimes missed by Mr. Way. Of course, he may justly answer that he does not agree that there is quite such a purpose in it. However, we will select two passages where we think the recognition of it would have made his version clearer and more forcible, allowing willingly that the whole problem is very complicated and obscure, and premising that these criticisms do not detract from our admiration for his version as a whole. Whatever view anyone may take of this Epistle, he must certainly put Mr. Way's translation among his best aids to a fuller understanding of it. Take, then, first ii. 9, which is translated :

'But we do see the archetype of the New Humanity, Jesus—Him who has been lowered to the level of humanity, and so made a little inferior to angels—already, because of His suffering of the death-penalty of our sin, crowned with glory and honour. This has been done, that his tasting of death might, by God's grace to us, prove to have been for the sake of all humanity.'

The translator, with a sermon for these days, rather than a letter for those men, in his mind, takes the whole chapter as of the descent of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity to earth, whereas the author, after his poet's guess in c. i., condescends here to the notions of his friends, and pictures to them—but with all its halo of wonder—the ministry of Jesus, without, as yet, making any assumption as to His being more than man. He bounds his picture by the death on the Cross, and makes no assumption, as yet, about what lay invisible beyond that death. He describes the *purpose* of Jesus, not His ascension into heaven. Yet he has a double object in all this. Not only is it a preparation to a larger doctrine presently to be set forth, but in the doctrine even here defined there is a secret of life which must affect his readers' decision in the particular choice that lies before them; for already this truth emerges clear—glory in humiliation, not after it; crowning in the mind made up for death, not in the ascension to heaven after death. This being so, the difficulty of  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma\gamma\acute{e}\nu\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  disappears. It means what grammatically it ought to mean, 'in order that He may or might taste.' From v. 12 (*cf.* Col. i. 18) we may suppose that if the author had wished to say what Mr. Way makes him say, he might have written  $\gamma\acute{e}\nu\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\varsigma\gamma\acute{e}\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  or  $\epsilon\acute{u}\rho\epsilon\theta\hat{\eta}$ , or from xi. 3 even  $\epsilon\acute{i}s\tau\circ\gamma\acute{e}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . That he did not mean that is confirmed by Blass's treatment of the passage. He, being 'as near to an Athenian *revenant* as any modern could

hope to be,' refused to take liberties of translation, and altered γεύσηται to ἔγεύσατο, making ὅπως ἔγεύσατο depend on βλέπομεν—'we behold how He tasted'; but the emendation is as unnecessary as it is bold.

Our second passage shall be xiii. 20 sq. The author has finished argument and appeal. He ends with a terse prayer in which, as in one of our Collects, the doctrine of the whole Epistle is gathered up, and one definite petition is offered—' May the God of peace . . . perfect *you* in all good to do the one thing He wills you now to do (*ποιῆσαι*), while in *us* He continues to do just what is well pleasing in His own eyes.' The antithesis between the writer and those like him who have entered into the rest of God (*cf.* iv. 10) and are persuaded they have a good conscience (xiii. 18), on the one hand, and the readers who have still their decision to make, on the other hand, is made dependent in the prayer on the similar antithesis between the heroic choice of Jesus and the eternal glory of Jesus Christ. It is conspicuous, and if Mr. Way had kept in mind the very definite purpose with which this Epistle was written he could not have missed it. As a rule he is extremely sharp-sighted for such antitheses and correspondences, and treats them very happily (*cf.* iii. 16–18, vi. 6, xi. 9, xi. 35, 37, xii. 19). Here, however, he prefers the ἐν ὑμῖν of ACP to ἐν ἡμῖν of ~~DKM~~, though ἐν ὑμῖν is surely an alteration made consciously or unconsciously for the benefit of later generations who would wish to use the Epistle sermon-wise for themselves.

It would be a pleasure to go through this beautiful version in detail, pointing out its wealth of vigorous, delicate, scholarly felicities, and discussing many phrases about which differences of opinion may fairly be entertained. This would occupy too much space. We will but notice the great improvement in the sense which the true rendering of τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δὲ (x. 33) makes upon A.V. and R.V., while we regret that λύτρωσιν and ἀπολύτρωσιν (ix. 12, 15) should be translated 'expiation,' and venture to wish that the force of ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν in vii. 9 were more distinctly expressed than by 'in a manner of speaking.' In conclusion, i. 3 sq. may be quoted as a good example of the dignity and truthfulness of Mr. Way's style :

'He is to God as the rays are which reveal to us all we know of the sun : He is the Image that bodies out for us the essential being of God. It is He who bears on to its goal all God's universe through the Word which is the conducting medium of God's power. He achieved the cleansing of a world's sin, and then sat down on a throne at the right

hand of the Majesty Divine in the high heavens. He attained a rank as much superior to the angels as the name, "THE SON OF GOD," which He has inherited by right of birth, far transcended theirs, "The Messengers of God."

## II.—COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

*Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra.*

By W. E. ADDIS, M.A. 'Crown Theological Library.' (Williams and Norgate, 1906.) 5s.

IN this book Mr. Addis gives a concise sketch of the historical development of Hebrew religion from the earliest times down to the period of post-exilic legalism as represented by the 'Priestly Code.' The writer commences by tracing the connexion of early Hebrew religion with the common basis of Semitic belief as to man's relationship to the supernatural world. Here the comparison of the ancient Arabic religion so far as it is known proves of great value, and Mr. Addis acknowledges his debt to Wellhausen's *Reste des arabischen Heidenthums*. The evidence for the theory of clan-totemism among the Semites is rightly rejected as insufficient; but the writer is perhaps too prone to find in the hardly less precarious theory of ancestor-worship the origin of certain primitive religious rites among the Hebrews.

Passing on to deal with the origin of Jehovah-worship, we find that due stress is laid upon the importance of Moses as the founder of Israel's religion. Moses 'is, beyond all reasonable doubt, an historical character, and it is impossible to understand the rise of nation or worship apart from him. Had his name perished and his very existence been blotted out from the memory of his countrymen, we should have been obliged to postulate a personality such as his. The character of Hebrew revelation demands no less.' On the other hand, it is stated categorically that 'No fragment of his writing has survived. The decalogue . . . must be of later date than the settlement in Canaan.' Thus we find that, in the succeeding chapter which deals with 'The settled life in Canaan,' the so-called 'second decalogue,' i.e. the code of old ceremonial laws contained in Exod. xxxiv. 11-26, is regarded as the more primitive tradition of the decalogue of the two tables, and the ethical decalogue of Exod. xx. is relegated (p. 184) to the reign of Manasseh. This is a theory which will probably in the future need to undergo revision.

After dealing with the religion of the early monarchy, Mr. Addis gives a good summary of the leading ideas of the religious

teaching of the writing prophets, and then traces the transition from prophetic to legal religion, concluding with a sketch of post-exilic Judaism as illustrated by the 'Priestly Code' in its ultimate form.

As a whole, this book is a clear and useful outline of the growth of Hebrew religion. Something might doubtless have been gained had the writer considered and given due weight to the influence of Babylonian religion upon the Hebrews ; but, apart from this omission, there is little that is lacking, and the book is eminently readable throughout, the reader being carried on naturally from stage to stage, so that his interest never flags.

*Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel.* By T. K. CHEYNE, D.Litt., D.D. (London : A. and C. Black, 1907.) 15s.

PROFESSOR CHEYNE has always made it his aim as a teacher to 'put the student on the track of advanced inquiry.' The most adventurous of our Old Testament scholars, he possesses the detached scientific temper which delights in experiment and pursues his investigations without misgiving ; whether we are able to follow him or not, we cannot fail to recognize the eagerness of his pursuit of knowledge and disinterested desire for the truth. In his latest book he examines the narratives of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus from the point of view of recent discoveries, and of certain principles or assumptions which he has made his own.

Archæological research and the study of comparative mythology are teaching us to recognize the fact that the early traditions of Israel have much in common with the legends and stories of other Semitic peoples, especially of the Babylonians. There need be nothing disquieting in this ; it simply testifies to the universal tendency of mankind to use the same metaphors to express ideas, to dramatize ideas in the form of myths, and again in the course of time to allow the myths to influence the ideas ; moreover, there is something singularly impressive in the widespread and most ancient expectation of a deliverer sent by God to overthrow the powers of darkness. But in the Old Testament this common element has assumed a distinctive form ; the myths or legends have been naturalized on Israelite soil, purged of their crudities, and adapted to the spirit of Israel's religion. A comparison between the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of the Creation and Deluge will illustrate

the kind of process that went on in other cases. Take the story of Joseph for example. Professor Cheyne agrees with Winckler and Alfred Jeremias in explaining it as an adaptation of the Tammuz-Marduk or Adonis myth. There is the dream of the stars, the episode of the pit (suggested by the descent of Adonis), the cry of Jacob 'a wild beast has devoured him,' the mourning of Jacob (suggested by the yearly weeping for Tammuz), his exclamation 'my son Joseph lives' (recalling the joyous welcome of Adonis after his resurrection), the wisdom and beneficence of Joseph's rule which correspond with the same qualities of the god Marduk. The explanation may be correct or not; two points, however, are clear: the Biblical story has a distinctive character which fits in with the higher religious tendencies in Israel, and extreme caution is needed in employing the methods of the comparative mythologists. It is one thing to investigate the ancestry of the Hebrew traditions; it is quite a different matter to restore to the text of the Old Testament those crude features of the early legends which seem to have been deliberately rejected by the sacred writers. Yet something of this kind is what Dr. Cheyne attempts to do. He supposes that Israel took over from the Kenite Arabians the worship of a divine duad or triad, *i.e.* of 'Ashtart (Astarte) along with Yahweh; hence Yahweh-*Seba'oth* is to be read Yahweh-*Sib'ith*, and the latter word explained as 'Ishmaelitess'; the triad is to be completed with Yerahmeel, the great Arabian deity. The 'Wisdom' personified in Proverbs viii. and the 'Angel of Yahweh' are instances of 'honourably deposed deities,' the 'ark of the Lord,' '*āron Yahweh*', took the place of 'Armon-Yahweh, one of the old compound names of the divine duad; while the origin of the Sabbath is to be found in a feast of 'Ashtart, who was symbolized by an ear of corn, *shibboleth*, which in fact became *shabbath*, a name of the great Semitic goddess.'

In order to recover the early beliefs of Israel, Professor Cheyne makes a large use of the evidence which may be derived from proper names, and he treats the proper names with the greatest boldness and ingenuity. Of course the Semites, like other people, were accustomed to abbreviate their names, very often with the result that the original forms are disguised as much as Dick and Bob are with us. Sometimes the abbreviated or corrupted name can easily be restored; in many cases the restoration is hopeless. There are analogies in plenty for Yerahem or Raham, or even perhaps Yael, as contractions of Yerahmeel; but for the startling changes which this and names

such as Ishmael, Ashhur, Arab, are supposed to have undergone we have no sure analogies ; it is so much guesswork which we can neither check nor refute.

Another of Professor Cheyne's methods is the drastic emendation of the text. He believes that the Old Testament has practically been rewritten by successive scribes in order to bring the text into agreement with later ideas and obliterate uncongenial features. It is true that the text has not only suffered from the inevitable accidents of transmission, but has undergone, in certain parts, a process of editing. The way in which a scribe could rewrite an earlier document may be seen by comparing the common matter in the books of Kings and Chronicles ; it is probable that certain passages of the prophets were edited after the exile with the object of introducing an application suited to altered circumstances ; and if we are to trust Dr. Briggs' recent commentary, the Psalter has been freely glossed for liturgical and devotional purposes. But we have no evidence, based upon undisputed facts, that the Old Testament has been rewritten to such an extent that a most trenchant course of emendation is necessary if we would read the text as it ought to be, crammed with references to Yerahmeel, the deity, people, country, customs, products of North Arabia.

This brings us to the main assumption which underlies the present work. In the majority of cases the Egypt (*Misraim*) of the Old Testament is taken to be not the land which we usually mean by that name but a territory in North Arabia called Muṣri, the seat of an independent kingdom which exercised an enormous influence upon the history and religion of Israel. The theory, as is well known, was first advanced by Winckler, but Dr. Cheyne has gone his own way in applying it far and wide. It is founded upon certain Babylonian and Assyrian texts which seem to give the name of Muṣri to the country north-east of Egypt and south of Judah, including the Sinaitic desert of et-Tih and the land of Edom. We have good authority, however, for doubting this interpretation of the Assyrian texts ; at any rate they can be fully satisfied by supposing that at various times Egypt pushed its frontiers beyond the usual limits, and gave its name to the new territory which was thus acquired. The difficulties involved in Professor Cheyne's theory seem insuperable ; for the North Arabian borderland is, and to judge from references to it in the Bible, always has been, nothing but a barren and mountainous wilderness, which never could have supported such a power as the theory requires. To argue that

the four rivers of Paradise are to be located in this waterless region; that the story of Joseph, in spite of its genuine Egyptian colouring, 'seems to point to North Arabia'; that the Exodus took place, not from Egypt, but from 'Muṣri,' which in fact must be the land flowing with milk and honey—is, to say the least, to do violence to the plain sense of the documents.

*The Cults of the Greek States.* By L. R. FARNELL, D.Litt. Vols. III. and IV. With Illustrations. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1907.) 32s. net.

THE third and fourth volumes of Dr. Farnell's *Cults* do not, as he had intended, complete the work. Hermes and Dionysos will overflow into a fifth volume, which will also gather up the minor cults; and the Heroes are to be left for an independent publication. All students of the history of religion owe the author a great debt for his devotion to a task involving enormous industry and considerable delicacy of judgement. Mythology and ritual are perhaps the subjects on which it is most easy to be led astray by the attractions of a pseudo-comparative method. It is also pleasant, and has until recently been general, to regard the Greeks as a people set apart, whose religion, like their art, is above criticism by the same standards as the religion of other races. Dr. Farnell steers a judicious middle course. He tends in these volumes to make more use of anthropology, or rather to take more notice of it, than before; and he shews that he himself is able to use ethnological evidence with sanity and success. The subjects dealt with are Ge, Demeter and Kore, Hades, the Great Mother, Poseidon and Apollo. The artistic ideals of the various deities receive, as before, considerable attention; in this connexion, however, it must be confessed that the book would have gained by having illustrations of a higher quality. On all ordinary questions relating to the deities mentioned these volumes give very full and well-arranged information. It is only when exploring by-ways that one sometimes wishes Dr. Farnell had extended his researches a little further. Take, for instance, the extraordinarily interesting contaminations of Greek and Phoenician cults which meet us in the great Phoenician cities. At Berytus there was a curious combination of the cults of Poseidon and a Phoenician Baal-Berit, with a local version of the myth of Amymone, on which we should have liked to have the author's view. But the Berytian Poseidon is only incidentally mentioned because

some of his devotees happened to set up a dedication to the goddess Roma in Delos. Dr. Farnell, however, may perhaps plead that had he wandered off into the 'Phoenician fringe,' these two volumes would easily have become four. We therefore grumble no more, but wish him a speedy and successful conclusion to his labours.

### III.—MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND METAPHYSICS.

*Free Will and Four English Philosophers (Hobbes, Locke, Hume, and Mill).* By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. (Burns and Oates.) 3s. 6d. net.

It is not quite easy to see why Father Rickaby has published these essays. In their original form, he tells us, they were written in the years 1871-4, and it is to that period that they really belong. Since then the conditions of the problem have changed. In the view of modern sensationalists the theory of evolution, as applied to our moral faculties, has greatly strengthened their position, and these essays do not take account of this. Moreover the method adopted—Father Rickaby quotes from the writers under review and then criticizes their views in detail—leads to a very unnecessary amount of repetition. His own view is made clear in the preface, and we do not get much further as the book proceeds.

Apart from the form of the book it can hardly be said that Father Rickaby has thrown much light upon the problem of free will. He puts the ordinary libertarian position clearly and well, with much homely illustration and with no attempt to slur over the difficulty which it presents. 'To say that no reason can be assigned for a man's freely willing a thing beyond his freely willing it is, I believe, to speak the truth.' 'I do not believe an act of the will to come out of nothing, a causeless phenomenon. I hold that the person who wills causes his own volition, under certain motives as conditions.' He supports this position, as all libertarians do, by tracing clearly the consequences that result for morals if this position is not accepted. But beyond this we hardly get. Father Rickaby has indeed a theory of his own as to 'the precise working of free will.'

'To will at all, our will must be struck by a motive, which raises in us . . . a spontaneous complacency. . . . This complacency is a fact of physical sequence, a necessity under the circumstances. 'But it is not yet a volition. It does not become a volition until it is hugged, embraced, enhanced under advertence, by the conscious self. Free will turns upon the absence

of any need of your making up your mind at once to accept the particular complacency then present in your soul : observe, you cannot here and now accept any other ; you cannot here and now accept what is not here and now offered ; you cannot just at present fling yourself upon the absent. Thus time is gained for rival motives to come up, according to the ordinary law of association, perception, or personal intercourse ; each of these motives excites its own necessary complacency, till at last some present complacency is accepted and endorsed by the person ; and that is an act of free will. Not to have a *regressus in infinitum* we must further observe that no volition is requisite simply to hesitate, delay, and withhold your acceptance of any present complacency—in fact, to remain undecided and irresolute.'

This may be good psychology or bad—the last sentence strikes us as very questionable—but it does not help us against the determinist. Ultimately we who believe in free will must maintain that events take place in the physical world which have not purely physical causes, and this is just what seems to the determinist to upset his whole view of the universe, and make science impossible. Ultimately we must choose between the necessary postulate of conscience and—we will not say the necessary postulate of intellect, but—the postulate which intellect not unnaturally desires for its own convenience in dealing with the world. The consistent determinist is quite aware of this ; he knows that right and wrong lose their time-honoured meaning upon his hypothesis ; only he feels that he is tied to the surrender of this meaning by the whole view of the world at which he has arrived. No doubt, as Father Rickaby says, we may be biassed by a desire to get rid of the reality of sin, but men like J. S. Mill are not seriously biassed in that way. They are quite honest in maintaining what they do, and Father Rickaby's arguments will not touch them. The fact surely is that no adequate treatment of free will is possible while it is regarded as a more or less isolated question. If free will is a fact, as we believe it to be, it must be a fact that is fundamental for our whole view of the world. We can only convince the determinist by shewing him that the whole philosophy of life and being to which the belief in freedom leads us is immeasurably more satisfactory to our whole nature—and even to the mind itself—than the philosophy of naturalism. What we really want to hear from the modern representatives of the scholastic philosophy is not how they stand to Hobbes and Hume, or even how they stand to Kant, but how they stand to the best modern and Christian idealism.

*Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy of Life.* By W. R. BOYCE GIBSON.  
(A. and C. Black.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS is a sympathetic exposition of a noble philosophy. Mr. Boyce Gibson's book is not always easy reading; Professor Eucken has a terminology of his own, which it requires pains to grasp, and Mr. Boyce Gibson sometimes lets him speak for himself when we should prefer a paraphrase in more familiar language; but the view of life which is here set forth is at once so profound and so practical that the book would be well worth reading if it were far more difficult.

It is, indeed, the essentially practical character of Professor Eucken's philosophy which is the most striking thing about it. He has, in fact, an abhorrence of mere intellectualism which his expositor regards as at times exaggerated. 'A man will believe,' he says, 'that he has won the good life when he has reached satisfactory ideas upon the subject.' The conflict of theory with theory he regards as a mere affair of outposts, the real conflict lying between opposing systems of life. His own philosophy, as Mr. Boyce Gibson says, is 'saturated with the spirit of battle'; it is 'not a mere theory about life, but is itself a factor in the great work of spiritual redemption with which life at its deepest is identified.' This does not mean that he is unwilling to attack such a system as naturalism with intellectual arguments; he does this from the idealistic standpoint with marked success; but he holds that the real strength of naturalism lies not in its intellectual attractiveness but in the weakness of the world's spiritual life, and that it can only be overcome by the awakening of our spiritual energy. Thus in the forefront of Professor Eucken's philosophy there stands a noble insistence upon human personality and human freedom; but the personality is a personality which is developed and deepened by immediate contact with the Divine life, and the freedom is a freedom that is one with the Divine grace. There must, he holds, be a radical break with the old life of slavery to sense and to the world; we are 'to turn from the sense-world to the self, and through the self inwardly to God,' and then return upon the world to master it in the power of the Spirit. Like all idealists Professor Eucken refuses to consider the world apart from the personalities for which it exists; but the personalities for which it exists are not merely contemplative, but active; we have not merely to inherit the world but to subdue it. The essential characteristic of all true religion is the demand for a new world. 'The world of our

present experience is not a finished world, and we are still privileged to play our part in its more satisfactory reconstruction.' In other words, the world itself is what we make it ; the physical order allowed to depress us and destroy our active personal life is a different thing from the same physical order used to call out and develop our spiritual activity. It is in a similar spirit that Professor Eucken insists upon our freedom in relation to the past, whether it be past thinking or past action. 'The appropriation of the past must be the expression of our personal freedom.' We must hold our own even against the greatest thinkers. So also even with our own past. That, too, is what we make it. It has not simply passed away ; it is part of the larger whole of our total experience, and is what it is by the place we give it in the whole. The sin which has been followed by no repentance, the error which has been followed by no correction, these are, in the truest sense, quite different things from the sin and the error that have been repudiated, and live on as warnings in the eternal spiritual present.

Limits of space of course render it impossible to give even an outline of Professor Eucken's views ; Mr. Boyce Gibson in his book of 167 pages has done this as shortly as it can well be done ; but it will be obvious how fundamentally Christian this philosophy is, and how admirable an antidote it supplies to that sense of discouragement which sometimes comes to us when we contemplate the fixity of the world's order and the apparent tyranny of the past over the present. This philosophy, as Mr. Boyce Gibson says, 'will be the philosophy of the future, if the future proves worthy of it' ; but it will prove worthy of it only if, by the courageous use of our freedom, we can render credible to ourselves that great position which Professor Eucken has claimed for it.

*Idola Theatri. A Study of Oxford Thought and Thinkers from the Standpoint of Personal Idealism.* By H. STURT. (Macmillan and Co., 1906). 10s.

MR. STURT writes earnestly and vigorously against what he regards as three mischievous *idola* of Oxford philosophy—Intellectualism, Absolutism, Subjectivism. He repeats Professor Sidgwick's criticism of T. H. Green, and with this and with much of his criticism of Mr. Bradley's famous book—*Appearance and Reality*—we substantially agree. But not a little of Mr. Sturt's criticism of Mr. Bradley's logical doctrines and of Professor Bosanquet suggest that he has only imperfectly apprehended

the systems he attacks. There is an interesting chapter—useful as an exposition—of the development of German Idealism from Kant, through Fichte and Schelling to Hegel.

Mr. Sturt writes in the interests of Pragmatism—of the doctrine which starts with human purpose and thence derives its criteria of Truth and Reality. We frankly confess our sympathy with this new movement, but we are unable to see that it destroys the old ideals of Truth and Knowledge, although it undoubtedly changes our attitude towards them, and this change has important—and, as we think, valuable—consequences in the philosophy of religion. Neither can we throw overboard the idea of Absolute Existence, but it may be that Mr. Sturt would distinguish this conception from the conception of *the* Absolute.

*Life and Matter. A Criticism of Professor Haeckel's 'Riddle of the Universe.'* By Sir OLIVER LODGE. (Williams and Norgate, 1906.) 2s. 6d.

In this book Sir Oliver Lodge attempts to do two things: (1) to refute the particular form of Monism advocated by Professor Haeckel; (2) to advocate a certain theory concerning 'life.' He justly contends that Professor Haeckel has no right to monopolize the name 'Monism.' Haeckel's Monism is not the only Monism, and he rightly insists that not a little of Haeckel's doctrine is speculation and not science. But does all this carry us very far? In Haeckel's thought 'the Law of Substance' is fundamental. Sir Oliver Lodge suggests that the truth underlying this is merely that the really existent is permanent. Surely this is inadequate. It may be true that the Law of Substance, as Haeckel formulates it, is largely speculative, but it at least embodies the methodological assumption of natural science—the assumption, namely, of mechanism in nature. This assumption science, for its own purposes, is compelled to make, since unless the sequences in nature are mechanically equivalent—unless there be a general conservation of matter and energy—the scientific method cannot yield certain prediction. This assumption is a logical presupposition of natural science, and the true basis of it is in thought, not in experiment. The world presupposed by natural science is a world of mechanically ordered substance, without apparent beginning, and without apparent end. The important question for Apologetic is this—Can such a world be accepted as an adequate representation of Reality? Sir Oliver Lodge replies in effect: (1) The conception is hypothetical; (2) It fails to give an adequate account of 'life.'

The conception is clearly hypothetical, but it rests upon a necessary methodological assumption. We can usefully attack this assumption, not by shewing that observation and experience have not yet completely confirmed it—for the assumption will remain, even though complete confirmation be absent—but by shewing the limitations of the scientific method and interest. This Sir Oliver Lodge has not attempted to do. In regard to (2) he uses 'life' in the widest possible sense. In his most important passages it includes personality. This use of the word is, we think, unfortunate, for it tends to confound two problems which we may some day find to have very different solutions :—(a) that of the nature and origin of physiological life; (b) that of the nature and origin of personal life.

We might accept with equanimity a demonstration that physiological life is 'part of nature,' but a similar account of personal life would strike at the very foundation of our apologetic. Sir Oliver Lodge can, however, hardly be said to do more than approach the cardinal problem of personality. He conceives 'life' to be a directive agency, and refuses to equate it with physical forces. But the only life in which we are greatly interested—personal life—is much more than a directive agency, and the apologetic argument centres round characteristics of it quite other than its directive activity.

We will only add that, in our judgement, Mr. McCabe's representation of Haeckel's fundamental thought is more nearly accurate than that before us (pp. 129–130). If this opinion be correct, much of Sir Oliver's criticism is of quite secondary value, and fails altogether to reach the points of chief importance.

*Theomonism True: God and the Universe in Modern Light.  
A Sequel to 'Haeckel's Monism False.'* By F. BALLARD.  
(London : C. H. Kelly, 1906.) 5s.

THIS is a pretentious book of nearly five hundred pages, never rising above the level of merely popular controversy. For argument Mr. Ballard substitutes a catena of quotations. Now it is permissible for any writer to seek support from acknowledged authorities; but it is not permissible to substitute quotation for thought, and this is what Mr. Ballard does. As one would have expected, he illustrates an interesting sentimentalism by passages from *In Memoriam*.

Mr. Ballard is among those who think the doctrine of the Divine Immanence important. He would substitute for crea-

tion *ex nihilo* derivation from God, 'who is the inner ground and substance of this illimitable ever-existing universe.' If these words mean what in Mr. Ballard's pages they appear to mean, we will only say that in our opinion the cosmological conception they indicate is radically unsound.

#### IV.—APOLOGETICS.

*Burning Questions in the Light of To-day.* By E. H. ARCHER-SHEPHERD, M.A. (London: Rivingtons, 1906.) 2s. 6d. net.

MR. ARCHER-SHEPHERD'S book comes to us introduced by a preface which we could wish unwritten. But, in happy contrast, the five chapters that follow are as humble and reverent in spirit as one could well desire. The first, which deals with 'The Nature of the Virgin Birth,' is an attempt to prove the reasonableness of this Article of the Creed from the standpoint of biological science. It is well-arranged and clever, and contains a point which is worth study; but whether it would carry conviction to anyone not previously convinced is questionable, and for ourselves, who accept the doctrine, the words of the Angel (St. Luke i. 35) are sufficient. The second ('The Nature of Our Lord's Resurrection Body') suffers from being just a little too rhetorical and vague for its purpose. We fully agree that it is 'presumption to dogmatize' regarding our Lord's Resurrection body, but it is begging the question to say that 'it had undergone the change which His brethren await, when the sons of God, who are now subject to the conditions of time and space, shall be released from this humiliation, and the sense-perception of phenomena shall give place to the more immediate knowledge which is of the spirit.' The argument should rather be reversed, and our idea of the Resurrection body of the Christian modelled on what we have learnt of the risen Lord.

The third ('The Nature of the Atonement') is of rather unequal value. The first section hardly bears on the argument, and contains some doubtful statements. For instance, it is only true within the narrowest limits to say of 'the modern theory of the Kenosis' that it is 'based upon the questionable interpretation of a single text'; the supposed instances of the self-emptying are chosen very much at random, and the most striking of them are not to be explained away by giving up 'our belief in the verbal accuracy of the Gospels,' however much we may be justified in doing so in the case of St. Mark ii. 26 or St. Matthew xxiii. 35. The second section is of a much higher

order, and the writer does good service in his use of the levitical system to illustrate the sacrifice of Christ. His own theory of the Atonement is hardly a new one, added to the 'nineteen' others, so much as a series of wise and suggestive remarks which can be made the criterion for any theory of the Atonement. We are in cordial agreement with the argument of chapter iv. ('The Nature of Inspiration'), and we endorse what it says of the misguided attempts to extract modern science from the Bible : 'In this way the Bible comes by more harm from the ill-judged defence of friends than from the malicious attacks of enemies.' The book ends with a chapter called 'What is Christianity?' which is very slight and 'popular' but contains an admirable estimate of Mohammedanism and its relation to the religion of Christ. On such a subject Mr. Archer-Shepherd writes with an authority which should secure him a hearing.

*For Faith and Science.* By F. H. Woods, B.D. (London : Longmans, 1906.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS work is an important contribution to the literature of apologetics, and we hope that it will be widely read. Mr. Woods makes it his purpose to try to answer these three questions : 'What do I believe ? Why do I believe ? What influence is science exercising on the Christian faith ?' The first of these he treats briefly in one chapter, the other two with considerable fulness, and, we may add, with considerable success. A frank supporter of the Higher Criticism, Mr. Woods boldly states the difficulties which beset any attempt (particularly with regard to the Old Testament) to make the Bible the one infallible standard of Christian faith and morals, while asserting with clearness and vigour the permanent influence which it can still exert, both through the Old Testament and the New. We are glad, in face of so much criticism which treats the later parts of the Hexateuch and the books of Chronicles as if they were prisoners at the Old Bailey, to read on pp. 123-5 his judicious estimate of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, and even of the work of the Chronicler. We are glad, too, to read what he says about the Gospel of St. John, whether he is writing of the Virgin Birth, or of the Godhead of the Son, or of the direct teaching of our Lord. On the other hand, we do not think that he has treated St. Paul with absolute justice either as a theologian or as a witness to the facts of our Lord's Life and Resurrection. 'After all, both St. Paul and St. Mark are second-hand authorities. St. Paul of necessity and avowedly repeats what he had received

from others.<sup>1</sup> We must surely interpret παρέλαβον in 1 Cor. xv. 3 by what St. Paul tells us himself in 1 Cor. xi. 23 and Gal. i. 11, 12, where the same word is also used ; if he makes one claim more strongly than another, it is that he owed his Gospel to the revelation of Jesus Christ.

In dealing with the relation between faith and science, Mr. Woods wisely points out that 'we have to distinguish, on the one side, the *process* of scientific investigation from the *conclusions* of science ; on the other, the *object* of faith from the *grounds* of faith, and again from what may be called the *spirit* or *temper* of faith' ; and he himself applies these distinctions throughout the third section of the book. He meets the claims made in behalf of the discoveries of science with a frankness and a courage which command the reader's admiration, and in his treatment of authority displays just the true scientific spirit which is demanded from all who claim to teach the faith of Christ. If there is one fault that we should find in the book, it is this—that the author states almost too many puzzles and problems to be solved in a work of 200 pages, and the careful reader, becoming involved in the maze of detail, can sometimes hardly see the wood for the trees. We quite agree with the conclusion, that, 'in spite of appearances to the contrary, religion, on the whole, owes a great debt of gratitude to science,' which is balanced by a clause (which too many scientists seem to have forgotten) :

'Science has its limitations. If science is to explain the Universe in the larger sense of the term, it must take into account, not only outward phenomena, which come under the experience of the senses, but all that comes under the experience of the higher faculties, and especially the influences which govern the mind and soul and which mould the character.'

*A Much-abused Letter.* By the Rev. GEORGE TYRRELL. (London : Longmans, 1907.) 2s. 6d. net.

*The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch.* By the Rev. C. A. BRIGGS, D.D., and Baron F. von HÜGEL. (London : Longmans, 1907.) 2s. 6d.

THESE two small volumes are essentially pamphlets, and their interest therefore lies chiefly in their circumstances. They belong to the rapidly growing collection of documents from which the future historian of the Roman Church must illustrate what he will probably regard as one of the most disastrous of pontifi-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 3.

cates. One of them is concerned with a detail of administration, the other with a broad question of ecclesiastical policy ; both are written by men whose loyalty to the Roman Church will bear almost any strain, who consider adhesion to the Apostolic See a matter of vital importance, and who have done much to persuade thinking men that such adhesion is not impossible ; their reward is to be suspected, abused, condemned, and all but thrust out of communion. Fr. Tyrrell's expulsion from the Society of Jesus may not have been a grievous thing ; his practical suspension from the exercise of the priesthood is very hard measure. This 'much-abused letter' was the immediate cause of his trouble ; ultimate causes are less obvious but not far to seek. Favourably regarded for a time by his superiors on account of his powerful apologetic, he gradually fell under the suspicion of surrendering too many outworks in defence of the citadel. Theologians love outworks ; they are still careful to fence the law. Fr. Tyrrell always shewed the most delicate regard for the faith of the simple ; his distinction was to understand that methods which suffice for the simple will not succeed with minds of complicated formula. He had mastered the paradox that for such minds the content of faith must be simplified ; two sets of complications will cause intolerable friction. To an Italian professor suffering from this friction, and seeking relief in abandonment of the practice of religion, he wrote an argument shewing that a man may be a devout Christian without appropriating the developed opinions of theologians, that in the practice of Christianity there is food for man's spiritual nature, and that Christianity can be effectively practised only in communion with the Catholic Church. This apparently useful defence was made public by somebody's indiscretion ; the *schola theologorum* took up arms with professional indignation, and the authorities of the Roman Church have practically ruled that theology is more important than faith. A large question is involved, the question whether the substance of Christian doctrine is guarded by the general Christian conscience or by the methods of a special science.

Theology, as understood at Rome, is a very special science with a very narrow method. Its nearest analogue is the method of the English common-law—deduction from arbitrary principles fixed by accumulation of authorities. Being this, and nothing more, it is supposed capable of regulating other sciences. The correspondence between Baron von Hügel and Professor Briggs contains a grave protest against this conception. Much was

hoped, and something feared, from the appointment of the Biblical Commission by the late Pontiff ; it was at least a recognition of the existence of scientific studies in the books of the Old and New Testaments, different in kind from those theological exercises which were under the control of the Holy Office ; there was ground for hoping that decisions of Sacred Congregations on the *Comma Johanneum* would become ancient history. Changes in the constitution of the Commission under the present Pope were ominous, and its first pronouncement on the authorship of the Pentateuch destroyed all hopes. The trouble was not so much in the futility of the actual pronouncement as in the evidence afforded that such questions were still thought to be within the competence of ecclesiastical authority. There was more than a direction of the spirit and temper in which historical investigation should be undertaken ; there was a definition of limits within which the results of such investigation must be sought. There is some irony in the position of the two friends who discuss this folly. Professor Briggs was cast out by the Presbyterianism of North America for the two offences of rationalizing criticism and of popish inclinations. Since then he has moved, as Baron von Hügel says, 'out of the acuter Protestantism of Presbyterianism into the *Via Media* of the Episcopal Church, with its considerable Catholic affinities.' From both positions he has declared his veneration for the Roman Church, his conviction that Rome is the centre of Christian vitality, and that in connexion with the Papacy will be found the true synthesis of all Christian thought. Baron von Hügel is a lifelong promulgator of the same hopes from within the Roman Communion, and an equally persistent advocate of the liberty of sacred science. They find the object of their hope turning upon them and rending them with clumsy hands. They do not despair ; they will patiently seek a way out of their straits." Their analysis of the difficulty is worth reading.

#### V.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

*The Coming of the Saints.* By JOHN W. TAYLOR. (London : Methuen and Co., 1906.) 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is a charming book of an unusual kind. It is the work of a writer who has evidently studied widely, in books and in visits to sites. He is content to call his work 'Imaginations' as well as 'Studies in Early Church History and Tradition,' and not without justice, for though he has said many ingenious things,

and read many learned writers, he cannot be said to have made any attempt to treat an historical subject in a purely historical way. His idea is that tradition conserves far more genuine history than is generally admitted. No doubt this is quite true ; but then we must discriminate. We must see how far back the traditions can be traced ; we must try to discover at what date the interesting details were added to the general statement, and whence those details came. Not long ago a Berkshire rustic talked with a learned man on an old battlefield. A great battle had been fought there, he said. When he was asked, 'What battle ?' he replied unhesitatingly, 'Waterloo.' Now that is exactly what is done by the writers whom Mr. Taylor so much enjoys. Notably the life of St. Mary Magdalen attributed, on no very certain evidence, to Rabanus Maurus, and found in very late MSS., gives a mass of illustrative detail which one can almost see being added to the statements of the Gospels and to the early traditions ; and then Mr. Taylor is quite satisfied, in spite of all the difficulties, whether about Irenaeus or about the dragon legend, to accept the story as testifying 'to a transparent honesty, carefulness, and goodness that can hardly be questioned.' Perhaps : but then read over the story of Martha, Mary, Lazarus, Marcella, Maximin, and see how much of it has the slightest evidence, internal or external, of authenticity. 'Lazarus became Bishop of Marseilles, Maximinus of Aix, Mary lived and died an anchoress on a high mountain of those parts, while Martha founded a convent for women, died on the fourth day before the kalends of August, and was buried with great honour at Tarascon.' Mr. Taylor seems to believe this, and decidedly believes that St. Trophimus, the friend of St. Paul, 'was almost certainly the chief successful missionary of Provence in the Apostolic age.' When we read all this, and the pleasant retelling of the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, with a great deal about the Jews in Cornwall, or actually find Lucius, Eleutherius, and Brute turning up again, we are fain to turn away either to some of the ingenious conjectures, quite unsupported as a rule by evidence, in regard to the 'Hebrew missionaries' in their first journeys, or to the charming chapter 'on pilgrimage' which contains so much of Mr. Taylor's own experience. This is not, then, an historical book, but it is a very pleasant one, well illustrated (but why reproduce the hideous new Cathedral of Marseilles, which no traveller can remember without horror ?), and taking for its motto 'The bloom of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller.'

*Early Christian Ireland.* 'Epochs of Irish History,' II. By E. HULL. (London : D. Nutt, at the Sign of the Phoenix, Long Acre.) 2s. 6d.

Miss Hull's interesting little book is an *œuvre de vulgarisation*, designed apparently in the first instance for use in the higher forms of Irish schools. Its three divisions, 'Ireland under her Native Rulers,' 'The Island of Saints,' and 'Irish Art and Architecture,' succeed in imparting a considerable amount of information enlivened with many of the stories which have come down to us about the kings and heroes and saints who lived in that world 'half real, half touched by fancy.' Some of the tales are gruesome, some touching, some humorous, and Miss Hull tells them well, though not always quite so well as she could do—e.g. she omits the point of King Diarmait's notable pronouncement on the law of Copyright in Finnian *v.* Columcille, in which when St. Finnian complained that St. Columba had made a copy of one of his MSS. and sued for its surrender, judgement was given for the plaintiff on the ground that 'to every book belongs its son-book, as to every cow her calf.' The references to authorities at the head of the chapters are comprehensive and useful, though occasionally needing to be supplemented for advanced students. The criticisms of Keating's *History* should have been relegated to footnotes—at present they remind us a little of King Charles' head. But these are small points. The book is one which boys and girls with a taste for history and romance will read with delight, and their elders not without profit.

*The History of the Reformation.* By T. M. LINDSAY, D.D. Two Vols. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1906-7.) 10s. 6d. each.

*The Reformation.* By J. P. WHITNEY, B.D. 'The Church Universal, VI.' (London : Rivingtons, 1907.) 5s.

THERE is, perhaps, a tendency at present to overdo the study of origins. 'Things are what they are,' says Dr. Illingworth in truly Aristotelian vein, 'independently of how they came to be,' and we do little to understand them by the mere study of origins without taking account of developments. One who wishes to deal with the Christian religion as it is must study the Reformation as well as the first few centuries. He must consider Doctrine and Order in development, and not simply in germ. It is strange to find that one of the older universities has, for the present, ignored this. The new regulations for the Honour School of Theology at Oxford have, in practice, crowded out the study of the sixteenth century, which till 1904 ranked as an alterna-

tive on equal terms with earlier periods. The University of London knows better, and last year allowed the study of the Continental Reformation as part of its course for the B.D. degree.

It is on the ground that origins should be studied in the light of development, and not merely developments in reference to their origin, that we welcome two solid attempts to put into the hands of the student in this country the means of acquainting himself with the religious history of the sixteenth century in Europe, taken as a whole. For that age, if in some of its innovations it might even be called the formative period, is without doubt the re-formative epoch when modern Christianity took shape : and that, not Protestant Christianity only but Anglican and Roman as well. If, moreover, it be true that the religious difficulties of the educated man who professes to stand outside, and sometimes above, all creeds, arise chiefly in connexion with the modern criticism of origins, it is no less true, and a truth often overlooked, that the confusions and uncertainties of the less educated Christian arise, in English-speaking countries at least, out of an, at best, half-knowledge of the Reformation irrespective of the Christian origins. The traditionally Protestant orthodoxy is shaken only as other orthodoxies are shaken, among men of culture. But it is far from exhausted in the mind of the average Church- or chapel-goer. On the contrary, it is his point of view. In that case, if it is of moment that he should learn to interpret his point of view by reference to its origins, it is of equal moment that the student should seek the explanation of origins in their development.

Dr. Lindsay is a writer who can claim to be heard both in respect of origins and of development. He is already widely known and appreciated as an authority upon *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*; and as a contributor to the volume on the Reformation of the *Cambridge Modern History*. In this *History of the Reformation* he appears to have had constantly before his mind the question, Was that movement a recurrence to first principles ? He appears also to think that it was.

The work follows the usual lines, marked out by the events. Book I. has a good sketch of the state of things on the eve of the Reformation. It is interesting, and bears evidence of minute research. Book II. tells the story of the Lutheran movement. Book III. of the Reformed. Book IV. concerns the English Church, which is rightly treated as a thing by itself. In Book V. there follows an account of the sects of the Refor-

mation ; while Book VI. concludes the work with a review of that victory of reform in the Churches adhering to the Roman obedience which had its missionary effect in the reconquests of the Counter-Reformation.

It is in Book III. that the author's skill shews itself at its best. What better guidance could be offered to the student bewildered by facts and fancies about the Reformation than to observe that the refusal or giving of the Chalice was, in the popular mind of the sixteenth century, 'the dividing line' between Papist and Protestant ; and again, the tenet of ubiquity between Lutheran and Reformed ? What more discriminating than to explain this Lutheran tenet by the controversial animus which prompted it : ' Christ's glorified body can be naturally in the elements without any special miracle, for it is ubiquitous . . . and needs no priestly miracle to bring it there ' ? There are some equally suggestive pages on the difference between the English and the Lutheran Reformation, and again on the kinship between the English Reformers and their Swiss friends, exemplified for example in Cranmer's Zwinglian view of the Eucharist kinship and difference alike being due to the fact that Erasmus exerted a powerful influence both with Zwingli and in England—but none at all over Luther.

But to return to the relation of the Reformation to Christian origins. In England, where the movement was the work of statesmen, there was, as we should expect, careful keeping within precedent : and only in the end were its measures justified by appeal on the part of theologians simply to origins—to 'one canon' as Andrewes quaintly put it, 'reduced to writing by God Himself, two testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries and the series of Fathers in that period.' 'Principles it had,' says Dean Church, in what is still the best summary account of the English Reformation,<sup>1</sup> 'but they were very partially explored at first.' In Geneva it was not so. There, as Dr. Lindsay observes, it was the deliberate aim of the Reformed from the first to 'return to the principles which they believed to be laid down for them in the New Testament, illustrated by the conduct of the early centuries.' This was the reason why, to claim doctrinal continuity, Calvin 'took the Apostles' Creed, the venerable symbol of Western Christendom, and proceeded to shew that when tested by this standard the Protestants were truer Catholics than the Romanists.' It was the reason why, though the laity forced him to be content with Communion

<sup>1</sup> *Masters in English Theology*, p. 78.

on the first Sunday in each quarter (whence the once common practice in England), he would, if he could, have insisted on weekly Communion. It was the reason why 'he recognized as none of' his contemporaries 'did that the Holy Supper of the Lord was the centre of the religious life of the Church, and the apex and crown of her worship.' It was the reason again why he laid stress on the revival of ecclesiastical discipline as that which would most nearly reproduce the Christianity of the Apostolic Age. 'One must go to the Protestant Church of France,' however, 'to see Calvin's idea completely realised. In Geneva the discipline was but a special instance of the petty punishments and interference common to all municipal rule in the sixteenth century.'

Of the genuineness, then, of Calvin's attempt to remodel the Church by reference to origins there can be no doubt. Dr. Lindsay's account of it stirs his enthusiasm, and is the best thing in a very able and interesting book. What of Calvin's success? Dr. Lindsay would instance Presbyterianism: 'for the Presbyterian or Conciliar is,' he says, 'the revival of the government of the Church of the early centuries.' It is a reversion, in short, to the collegiate theory of the ministry. This opens up an interesting problem best dealt with, of late, by the Bishop of Salisbury in his Murtle Lecture at Aberdeen for 1902. The question is one not of government, but of the power to ordain. 'I do not say,' is the Bishop's conclusion, 'that there never was a presbytery which did not ordain in collegiate fashion. But if it was so, it must have been before the office of bishop was developed in that place. . . . The power was understood to be inherent in their commission. But we cannot argue from it that all presbyters have inherent power of ordination in the present day.'<sup>1</sup> Many do so argue, in reliance upon the study of origins. So did the Reformers of the Continent, e.g. Melanchthon in his *Tractatus de Potestate Episcoporum*, § 65. But, if anywhere, development has outrun origin here.

Dr. Lindsay's *History of the Reformation* is full, clear and authoritative. Mr. Whitney's is no less authoritative, but on a smaller scale, and from a different point of view. He holds 'to the continuity of the English Church' as 'the only view, I think, according with history.' It is an excellent summary, evenly distributed over the whole ground, and free from inaccuracies.

<sup>1</sup> *The Bearing of the Study of Church History on some Problems of Home Reunion.* (Longmans, 1902.) p. 15.

But he knows too much for the space at his disposal, and, to be assured of this, we have only to look at his contributions of maps and letterpress to Mr. R. L. Poole's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, or again of the account of the Helvetic Reformation to Vol. II. of the *Cambridge Modern History*. His present book has one fault, if intended as a manual for beginners. It is too allusive. It used to be said that one secret of Dr. Liddon's power as a preacher was that he never made an allusion, but always led up to, and so explained by anticipation, any point likely to be new to his audience that he wished them to grasp. And is not this also the secret of a good manual? Excision, not compression, is the talisman here. It would have been much easier for Mr. Whitney to have written on the scale of Dr. Lindsay. We hope that he may yet have the chance. But meanwhile, there is not, to our knowledge, any one book which so briefly and accurately covers the whole ground, English and foreign, of the sixteenth century, as this volume of Mr. Hutton's series on *The Church Universal*.

*Lectures on Modern History.* By the late LORD ACTON. Edited, with an Introduction, by J. N. FIGGIS, M.A., and R. V. LAURENCE, M.A. (London: Macmillan, 1906.) 10s. net.

RANKE's career, said Lord Acton, was 'the most astonishing in literature.' The statement was surely overstrained; but much the same might be said by an epigrammatist of Acton's own place in the literature of the nineteenth century. There was no one in the ranks of learning during the age of Victoria (of those who wrote at all) who wrote so little and knew so much. And we are bound to confess, when we have before us this selection of what is undoubtedly chosen as the most characteristic work of his culminating period of ripened learning, that what he did write was disappointing.

The lectures delivered at Cambridge during the years 1899-1901 are typical of the instruction which Lord Acton thought suitable for a university audience. The inaugural lecture, from which comes the statement on Ranke's career which we have quoted, illustrates rather his conception of the true historian's work in relation to modern demands and how far he thought it had been fitly realized. Ranke, said Acton, taught history 'to be critical, to be colourless, and to be new'; and this is clearly what Acton regarded as the ideal for the historian. The statement is not wholly true of Ranke, for certainly he was not colourless. His work, for example, on the seventeenth century,

in style as well as method, has just that colour which S. R. Gardiner's conspicuously lacks. Of Acton also it is not wholly true, if we are to judge by his ordinary lectures. They are critical and colourless, but certainly they are not new. And that is the disappointment of the lectures before us. They lack novelty, and, while they are distinctly the product of the critical method, they lack sound judgement.

It would be absurd to assert that Acton was not a true scholar and a true historian; but he was not an original worker. He had little historical imagination, but an immense historical memory. He rarely, if ever, illuminated dark corners of history, though he often corrected false judgements in the light of superior knowledge. He knew what books were the best—Guizot's *Richard Cromwell*, for example—whatever the common judgement of them was. He knew where lay the roots of vulgar errors. He was quite above prejudice, though he was a firm Roman Catholic, and a determined Liberal. But when it came to writing history he was overwhelmed by the extent of his knowledge. The mass of his notes to his inaugural lecture is a depressing spectacle, not because of its size, but because of its entire absence of judgement in selection. He quoted a number of the most worthless books, of the most obscure pamphlets, simply because they happened to say something that he wanted to say, and he was too honest not to proclaim that it had been said before. Really, Professor Bury's inaugural lecture at Cambridge, in spite of what some consider its wrongheadedness, and Professor Oman's at Oxford, in spite of what others regard as its robust Philistinism, have done more to put a true view of history before us than all the elaborations of Lord Acton's famous pronouncement. The strength of it lies in the emphatic assertion of moral principle. Right and wrong are real distinctions; or, as Burke says, 'the principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged.' Lord Acton concluded his fine declaration of belief with the statement that we could be more impersonal, disinterested and just than the historians of former ages; and so it is in our power 'to learn from undisguised and genuine records to look with remorse upon the past, and to the future with assured hope of better things; bearing this in mind, that if we lower our standard in history we cannot uphold it in Church or State.' To have said this, and, still more, to have borne it always in mind when he wrote, was the true glory of Acton as an historian. But he was not a great writer; he had little art, little charm. Lectures which cover the time from the Renaissance to the American

Revolution shew this in detail. True though their moral outlook is, they have little inspiration. We must look rather to the Lectures on the French Revolution, which are announced to follow them, for the true test of their author's powers. As a man, on the other hand, we learn still more to respect him ; and the 'piety' of Mr. Figgis and Mr. Laurence has produced an admirable introductory summary of his work at Cambridge, his influence, and the nobility of his aims.

*A Manual of Costume as illustrated by Monumental Brasses.*

By HERBERT DRUITT. With 110 Illustrations. (London : A. Moring, Ltd., the De La More Press, 1906.) 10s. 6d. net.

ALTHOUGH this work is called a manual, it is in fact a thick octavo. It might indeed almost be called an encyclopædia of the subject on which it treats. It formed no part of the author's plan to describe or even to name all the brasses known to exist in our own country, but rather to illustrate his subject from brasses not only of this but of other countries, and, in a subordinate degree, from any other available sources, e.g. stone monuments, painted glass, seals, and verbal descriptions. After an admirable general introduction on brasses generally, he discusses costume in six chapters, on Ecclesiastical, Academical, Military, Civilian, Legal, and Female Costumes respectively. Under each of these heads he gives a very full account of the costume, referring to a great number of brasses, as will be understood when we say that the index of places, at most of which are brasses, contains over 1,300 entries, some of which have references to six or eight different pages or more. The indices indeed, of persons, places, costume, and general, form a most handy and serviceable portion of the book. And the index of illustrations refers to all the 110, of which it may be said that they vary in merit, though even the least satisfactory are very acceptable. They are all done by photographic processes, either from rubbings or from the original brasses, and we think that the former are generally preferable, as it is not always easy to get a satisfactory photograph from a stone slab *in situ*. Consequently some of these latter are a little indistinct, and moreover they are for the most part on too small a scale to be quite satisfactory. Those which occupy a whole page, as a rule, leave little to be desired, but why the very interesting brass of Sir Roger de Trumpington should not have been done nearly twice the size we cannot see. The impression of the plate is  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch across, with a margin of about

2½ inches all round. And when three full-length figures are got into one octavo page, the scale is necessarily much too small. On the other hand, to take a few examples at random, the Molyns brass at Stoke Poges, p. 167, Sir John Harpedon at Westminster, p. 169, Sir Thomas Brooke and wife at Cobham, p. 180, from rubbings, and the figures of Ralph Lord Stafford and Almeric Lord St. Amand from the Hastings brass at Elsing, with the armorial shields from the same brass, shewing the actual brasses surrounded by their stone slab and on as good a scale as the page allows, are all excellent.

We have dwelt so long on the illustrations, which are such an important feature in the work, that we have but little space left for the letterpress. We will therefore only indicate a few out of the many interesting points that we have noted, *e.g.* the evolution of the brass from the inlaying of stone slabs with metals and colours, the incised lines of brasses (always meant to be filled with black composition, which has as a rule disappeared), signatures or initials of makers of brasses, the very objectionable practice, once too common in the 'restoration' of churches, of taking brasses off their slabs and setting them up on plastered walls, 'palimpsest' brasses, the crosses on modern Anglican stoles, the evolution of these stoles from the black scarf, which the older among us can follow in recollection, the proper use of the term 'crozier,' with regard to which it is stated that the term 'is frequently applied to the cross-staff borne before an archbishop,' though it is not stated that such application has been conclusively shewn to be a mere blunder. Again it is said that 'the presence of both cross-staff and crozier on some archiepiscopal monuments' sufficiently demonstrates that in the case of an archbishop the cross-staff does not 'necessarily' supply the place of the crozier: as if it ever did, except by mistake; the rubrics of the pontificals are conclusive on this point. An archbishop uses his pastoral staff as any other bishop does, and his being represented with his cross in his hand is only like a saint being represented with his 'attribute.'

We have only observed one error of the press, namely on p. 61, where the printer has used an old English capital G by mistake for C in the word 'Costume.' That, however, is a trifle which in no way affects the general accuracy of the printing, much less the great merits of the book, which we confidently recommend as indispensable to all who are interested in costume or in brasses.

*Life in Ancient Athens.* By T. G. TUCKER. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1907.) 5s.

PROFESSOR TUCKER'S contribution to the 'Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities' is without doubt the freshest and most sensible attempt that has been made for many years to convey to the modern reader an idea of Athenian ways and manners in the prime of Attic history. With great good judgement he has shaken off all pedantry ; his object is not to teach us the Greek names for walking-stick or distaff, but to shew us Greek men or maidens using them. He also wisely limits himself to a short period—from the middle of the fifth century to the time of Alexander the Great—and his illustrations are nearly all drawn from contemporary monuments. The resultant impression as to the character of life in Athens is decidedly pleasant and, we think, on the whole fair. There are doubtless mistakes here and there, and deficiencies (thus the space devoted to athletics is inadequate) ; but the whole of the body of the book is generally sound ; only in the Introduction (where there is a tendency to accept as certain what are but doubtful theories as to origins) and in the chapter on Art (which is obviously not Professor Tucker's subject) do we detect signs of serious weakness. We hope that the little book will be acquired by the libraries of all schools in which the study of Greek still lingers. Even elsewhere it may perhaps be allowed to creep in on the historical side ; for the Greek fount is practically absent from its pages.

#### VI.—SOCIAL QUESTIONS AND EDUCATION.

*Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration.* Vol. I. Report and Appendix [Cd. 2175]. Price 1s. 2d. Vol. II. List of Witnesses and Minutes of Evidence [Cd. 2210]. Price 4s. 1d. Vol. III. Appendix and General Index [Cd. 2186]. Price 1s. 6d. (London : Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

OWING to a very widespread fear that the physical condition of the people is worse than it used to be Mr. Balfour appointed a departmental committee

'to make a preliminary enquiry into the allegations concerning the deterioration of certain classes of the population as shown by the large percentage of rejections for physical causes of recruits for the Army and by other evidence.'

The terms of reference were subsequently explained and enlarged, as follows :

(1) To determine, with the aid of such counsel as the medical profession are able to give, the steps that should be taken to furnish the

Government and the nation at large with periodical data for an accurate comparative estimate of the health and physique of the people; (2) to indicate generally the causes of such physical deterioration as does exist in certain classes; and (3) to point out the means by which it can be most effectually diminished.'

The primary result of the inquiry was to shew that no sufficient material (statistical or other) is at present available to warrant any definite conclusions on the question of the physique of the people by comparison with data obtained in past times. In order to rectify this omission the first and most important part of the report was devoted to suggestions for the establishment (in accordance with a scheme of the British Association) of a Central Anthropometric Bureau, which should begin by recording the physical facts connected with every child admitted to a primary school, and then proceed to do the same for young persons working in factories. In the supplementary portion of the investigation the Committee examined the causes and conditions of the low standard of physique which undoubtedly exists among considerable classes of the community. It was not to be expected that anything new to social reformers could be proposed in the long series of recommendations made by the Committee upon this branch of their inquiry. But it is of value to have the desirability of reforms, which have been advocated frequently, endorsed in this way by a body of practical men of wide administrative experience. First among the causes calculated to arrest and to depress development is placed the urbanization of the people, with its complementary movement in the depopulation of rural districts by the exodus of people of the best type. Next comes the 'drink' question, which is regarded largely as the outcome of bad housing, though it is difficult to distinguish cause from effect. Closely allied with the excessive consumption of unwholesome drink as a cause of degeneration is the indifference of the poor to proper feeding. These and many other evils associated with them received the attention of the Committee, and methods for their alleviation formed the foundation of numerous recommendations. Nearly one-third of the report is devoted to a consideration of the conditions of life of the juvenile population, and is remarkable for the wide range of subjects which were included under this section. The volume of evidence upon which the Committee based their conclusions is of the same varied character, so that it is difficult to find a social problem of the present day about which there is not some information. The form of question and answer in which the matter is embodied may not be pleasant to read, but it has the advantage that in the examination of

witnesses points are often elucidated which otherwise might have remained obscure to the reader. The Committee had before them a body of witnesses possessing authority of exceptional weight in their respective subjects. The scope of the inquiry may be gauged by giving a selection from the list of the main subjects of evidence:—Employment of Women in Factories (Miss Anderson, H.M. Principal Lady Inspector); Boys' Clubs (Mr. Douglas Eyre); Eyesight (Mr. Tweedy); Garden Cities (Mr. [now Mr. Justice] Ralph Neville; Life in the Potteries (Miss Garnett); Urban Conditions (Mr. Charles Booth); Health of School Children (Sir John Gorst); and the Physique of Recruits (General Sir Frederick Maurice). Many of the witnesses covered a very wide field, so that the report, together with the indexed evidence and valuable appendices, provides a most useful source of information for all who are concerned at the seriously low conditions of life and health in which a large proportion of the population in towns spend their existence.

*The Making of the Criminal.* By C. E. B. RUSSELL and L. M. RIGBY.—(Macmillan and Co., 1906.) 3s. 6d. net.

WE are almost tired of being told that we can have as many paupers as we care to make, but criminals—can they, too, be turned out in any required quantity? So it would seem, if one knows how to set about it, and the authors of this book give us a temperate and studiously unsensational description of the process.

First it is to be observed that children, perhaps the very best raw material, are difficult to lay hands on. Elementary schools, truant schools, industrial schools, reformatories, school attendance officers, ministers of religion, Sunday schools, combine to make the child a protected article and the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children checks wholesale evasion of duty. But at sixteen or earlier the public schoolboy of the well-to-do is the 'lad' of the labouring classes. The son of the legislator is watched, protected, disciplined, under the thin disguise of independence; his habits, his friends, his aptitudes and tastes are reported on by trained observers, his life combines the minimum of the harsh realities of existence with the maximum of wholesome interest and pleasure. The 'lad,' meanwhile, is perhaps meeting, unaided and unshielded, the crisis of his fate. In the chapters entitled 'The Young Outcast,' 'Orphaned at Seventeen,' 'The lapsed Reformatory Boy,' and 'Turned out of Home' and others, our authors give us life-studies of the 'lad,' and records, historical, official, statistical

of the 'Development of the Criminal.' As we read we are tempted to ask, 'Is it for this that schools teach and Societies protect the little ones?' and to cry out for a philanthropy which instead of dealing piecemeal with children, factory hands or aged pensioners, as the case may be, shall look at the life of the poor steadily and see it whole—from the cradle to the grave.

The raw material of criminality is provided in a variety of easy ways. Here is one. 'We well remember some years ago meeting a boy just after he had been turned out of home—it was after eleven o'clock at night. "Where are you going, Albert?" "Oh, I don't know, they've turned me out because I've got no work. I think I'm going to sleep in a railway waggon off Fairfield Street, or under one of the arches.'" And then the process begins. 'Two offences stand out above all others as responsible for a respectable lad's first visit to prison.' These are sleeping out, or 'sleeping rough,' as it is called, and begging. 'A lad may suffer several days and even weeks of hardship before being charged with sleeping out, but finally he is taken and makes his first acquaintance with a prison.' Perhaps he is let off once, but on a second appearance he gets his sentence—short, indeed, but carrying with it all the incidents of punitive imprisonment, such as inspection, uniform, cell, food, discipline. By statistics from five great prisons it is shewn that from 35 per cent. (at Pentonville) to 57 per cent. (at Birmingham) of the prisoners serving sentences of three months and upwards on May 10, 1906, were under twenty-one years of age when their first offence was committed, and that offence was, in 3 per cent. of the whole number of cases, sleeping out or begging, and in 41 per cent. simple larceny. 'In the great bulk of these cases the offender was not a criminal at heart at the time of his first offence, and more humane and considerate treatment would not only have kept him from prison then but probably have altogether prevented his descent to a criminal career.'

The lines on which such treatment might best be administered are indicated in chapter ix. ('Possible Remedies'). Short Detention schools, analogous to the truant schools already available for children, are suggested as the key of the problem, with an extension of the Borstal prison system as an inferior alternative, but the need of the personal service of 'Probation Officers' is wisely insisted on.

An Appendix gives a useful summary of methods adopted on the Continent and in America and some of our Colonies.

And the inevitable conclusion is that 'other countries have adapted their treatment to new principles and methods ; in England, owing to private initiative, they have to a small extent been tried with marked success. It is no slight responsibility to continue for a year or a month longer than is necessary the old foolish treatment, with blind—wilfully blind—eyes turned to the light.'

*Let Youth but Know.* By KAPPA. (London : Methuen.)  
3s. 6d. net.

THE writers on education are becoming more skilful. They begin to employ half-lights. Tom Brown and Godfrey Martin are left behind, and even '*The Hill*.' The author of *Hugh Rendal* makes his hero a clever boy, and Kappa's thoughts on education are set in motion by the spectacle of a morose undergraduate with intellectual ability. It is impossible to lay the latter's book aside when one has begun it ; it is well expressed, even if the florid style at times reminds us of Lord Randolph Churchill's 'old man in a hurry.' Moreover, most educational authorities agree with Kappa that things are not satisfactory as they are, though they might assert that his unmeasured denunciation over-shoots the mark. Kappa assumes that the public-school boys of to-day spend as much time as their grandfathers did over Latin verse ; with the exception of Eton, this is quite untrue. He believes that history is still taught in a dull and unintelligent way. Anybody who teaches the subject knows how hard it is to deal with, but there is a much higher conception nowadays than thirty years ago of the way in which it can be taught ; while the scorn which is passed in this book on the manuals of history now in use is unjustifiable. Again, to say as the writer does (p. 166) that 'the bulk of a boy's time is given to minute scholarship and composition' is simply ludicrous.

Education, like other subjects of discussion, needs 'dry light' and experience. Kappa seems to have neither. He wishes to excite the faculty of wonder in boys' minds, so that they should understand better than they do at present the marvels of the world in which they live, and the place which man takes as part of the macrocosm. He wishes young men to 'enjoy' life in the highest sense of the word ; he is disgusted—and quite rightly—with the morose undergraduate of 'Oxbridge.' It will do the schoolmasters no harm to read his book ; they will see how a dull level of responsibility and mediocrity should be tinged with enthusiasm and emotion. They will feel more

clearly than before that their calling is a noble one, and that it should aim at an ideal as much as any other art. But Kappa's remarks will not help them much in the actual work of teaching a class of twenty-five boys. His attitude to education is that of a first-rate private tutor, with a promising pupil ; one of his 'Georgian baronets' would answer the purpose admirably. If Kappa could have been set down to teach a class of twenty-five average public-school boys for a week before writing his book, there would have been less 'fluff' in his rhetoric.

Indeed, the real answer to Kappa is that the modern parent has abdicated his function. He leaves everything to be done by the schoolmaster. The good parent in such a place as the much-abused Evangelical Clapham of sixty years ago did endeavour to interest his children in the wonders of the universe ; he read the Bridgewater treatises ; he introduced his children to the microscope and the telescope. The average modern parent thinks of nothing but games and amusements for his children, and is loth to enforce obedience, or even religion. Kappa's spirit and methods are the very thing for the conscientious parent in the home circle, while the youthful mind is still elastic and mobile ; they are not suited to the prosaic monotony of the class-room. If he will undertake to reform the parent we can promise him that there is a spirit abroad among the much-abused schoolmasters, which will meet him half-way, and which on the basis of experience is trying its best to reform education without violent changes. *Chi va piano va sano.*

Let us look at one or two of Kappa's conclusions. He is most anxious to interest children in science. Very good : in the family circle or the country walk this is not a hard task ; but most of our authorities tell us that science is not a good class subject for boys until they are fifteen or sixteen years of age. Take, again, his view of Latin prose ; when he is confronted with the fact that to turn a piece of English into French may require very little change of vocabulary, whereas to turn it into Latin is intellectually valuable as it requires thought about each hard word, he has nothing except rhetoric to cover his retreat. Very likely his contention as to Greek composition is right ; but he goes too far in deriding Latin prose. He thinks that henceforward we should save time by reading the prose classics in translations, but he wishes to read the poets in the original languages. If the languages are to be read at all, would it not be better to read the best authors in the original, whether they

are in metre or not? Can any intellectual discipline of the linguistic type be more improving at a certain stage of the mind than the study of Demosthenes' orations?

Some schoolmasters would say the first and last word in education is 'obedience'; Kappa says 'wonder.' Perhaps the truth lies half-way.

#### VII.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

*A Short History of Comparative Literature. From the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* By FRÉDÉRIC LOLIÉE. Translated by M. DOUGLAS POWER, M.A. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.) 6s. net.

To give in 380 octavo pages a comparative history of the literature of all peoples in all ages could not be otherwise than a task of the most extreme difficulty. At such, or even at considerably greater length, only large movements and tendencies can possibly be dealt with, all detail will have to be taken for granted, and a wide and copious preliminary knowledge presupposed. Balance and proportion will be matters of supreme importance.

M. Loliée hardly seems to have decided definitely for what type of reader he was writing. At times we are given such detail as could only be intended for the 'general reader,' and is quite superfluous from the point of view of even the moderately well-read man. Such for instance are the accounts of the fate of Huss (p. 134), and the sale of indulgences (p. 149).

More often we have long strings of names, or the merest allusive treatment of some important movement, which could not be of value, nor even barely intelligible, to any but the specialist on that particular period. Thus on p. 34 we have five Greek names accounted for in six lines, as follows:—

'Moreover, in the burning region of lofty eloquence Demosthenes appears and takes his rank as the happy rival of Æschines, who comprised in his discourses the maximum of oratorical qualities. He developed under the teaching of Isæus, of Alcidamas, and Socrates; to himself alone is due the impetuosity and vehemence so characteristic of him.'

As we approach the close of the Middle Ages the treatment becomes less reminiscent of the nervous playing of a search-light. The best parts of the book are those dealing with the development and the mutual relations of the literatures of England and France, and the account of what we may call the new Renaissance of the early nineteenth century, when the

same zeal was shewn in the reconstruction of the vanished civilizations of India and Egypt as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had brought to the study of those of Greece and Rome. Thus we find (p. 244) the following passage on the aims and ideals of modern philology :

'Modern scholars of the school of Wolf, Boeckh, and Ottfried Müller, in Germany, and of Letronne in France, later on extended to a remarkable degree the conception of philology. In every direction they remoulded the notions of ideas and facts by applying all the resources of learning to political history, the archæology of monuments, the study of languages and of myths and religions. It was the critical method which the comprehensive genius of Leibniz had discovered, and which Germany has the honour of having first adopted. In former years, as in olden times, philology had been identified with purely grammatical studies, and was confined to the exposition of ancient texts, but henceforth its object was no less than to grasp the ancient mind, Greek or Oriental, in its entirety, in its philosophical, literary, and artistic evolution, in works of faith, reason, sentiment, or imagination.'

In the preface to the third French edition, written by M. Gréard, a member of the French Academy, the work is described as a 'history of human thought,' and on p. 314 the author himself speaks of the 'laborious journey throughout the world of thought in all ages and in all latitudes.' The book is, in fact, rather a history of thought, chiefly, but by no means solely, as portrayed in literature, and we have whole pages in which there is no mention of any literary work.

Once more we see the inclination of the French mind to judge on deductive principles of other nations and national characteristics ; here, indeed, the deductionist walks naked and unashamed. On p. 352 we read :

'As we have pointed out before, there is scarcely a nation, whose future place in the history of the world might not have been foretold to some extent by reason of their ruling characteristic or distinctive quality. This predisposition, due to race or climate, has resulted in their national pre-eminence.'

There are a number of puzzling statements, especially on matters of philology ; as, for instance, when on p. 243 we read of 'the two sister races, Aryans and Greeks,' or when on p. 273 German is spoken of as 'one of the sources of English.'

It is interesting and instructive to find that a book of this nature has met with considerable success in France. Of the translation it may be said that in reading it a knowledge of French will be found occasionally not unserviceable. Many

passages have ceased to be French without having quite arrived at being English, and we are pulled up uncomfortably to ponder over their meaning. Sometimes, perhaps, the printer has introduced obscurity; of misprints there are not a few. One line (p. 237) : Armin (*sic*), Immermann, Tieck Brentano (no comma), Chamirro (*sic*), contains three.

In some passages, however, the responsibility cannot be divided. The strangest is one (p. 89) in which we are told of Alcuin that 'speaking critically, none of (his) writings . . . are long-winded, nor evince great originality.' There is a French idiom 'de longue haleine,' of which that sentence reminds us, but it does not mean long-winded.

*English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer.* By W. H. SCHOFIELD, Ph.D., Professor of Comparative Literature in Harvard University. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1906.) 7s. 6d.

THIS volume, and one on Chaucer, are intended to form links between Stopford Brooke's *English Literature before the Norman Conquest* and Professor Saintsbury's *Elizabethan Literature*, and thus, with the two corresponding volumes on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to constitute a series of six handbooks covering the development of our literature from the earliest times to the present day. The scheme is an admirable one, and we have every reason to congratulate Professor Schofield on his contribution to it. A difficult task lay before him, for no period of English is more complicated than that with which the present volume deals.

The writer has done wisely in classifying his material on a somewhat novel plan. After an admirable Introduction, he gives us two chapters on Anglo-Latin and Anglo-French literature, in pursuance of the principle that although 'the literature of every people is a growth, more or less steady, its chief formative influences at any particular period are more likely to be exerted by contemporaneous production in countries of kindred spirit than by what was earlier written in the same land'—a remark especially true of an age in which the very language of England had been superseded by that of her French conquerors, and the whole thought and spirit of the country was shewing what Russell Lowell so aptly terms the 'first result of the Norman yeast upon the home-baked Saxon loaf.' It is significant that, while Anglo-Latin and Anglo-French works often exist in numerous copies, 'the majority of English works

written before 1360 perhaps survive only in a single copy, which in no case bears any trace of the fine writing found in MSS. for wealthy book-buyers' ; the inference being that English books appealed mainly to the lower classes.

In Chapter V. *et seq.*, the writer proceeds to arrange the bulk of his material—works written in English—under the headings of Romance, Tales, Historical, Religious, and Didactic Works, and Songs or Lyrics, mediaeval literature being, as he well remarks, 'mainly static in type' though 'variable in spirit.' Professor Schofield is no mere gleaner in fields already reaped. True, his accounts of the Arthurian and Grail legends are necessarily little more than excellent summaries of results attained by others ; but his method of touching upon vexed questions (*e.g.* Chaucer's relation to Boccaccio, p. 293), however light, is always suggestive, and in his attempts to dispel popular fallacies, such as those concerning the life of the Middle Ages, the exclusively Norman character of French influence in England, and the 'revival' of our literature by Chaucer (pp. 23, 138, 453) he rises far above the too familiar level of the average literary handbook. The illustrative extracts, too, are well chosen and less hackneyed than those of most writers on Middle English.

If faults must be sought for, they perhaps exist in the omission of any chapter or passage dealing with the metrical developments of the period (though a consideration of this important matter will doubtless follow) ; in the somewhat too arbitrary assignment of a twelfth century date to the Beowulf MS., and of a French origin to the Havelok story ; and in some apparent ignorance of recent German researches into the difficult question of Layamon's originals.

More serious, however, are the confusing subdivisions of Chapter II., where, after indicating monasticism as the leading characteristic of the eleventh, feudalism of the twelfth, scholasticism of the thirteenth, and nationalism of the fourteenth century, the writer elaborates his idea in sections presumably chronological, but shewing awkward and unexplained lapses into a kind of cross-classification according to type. Surely, too, in view of p. 28, 'feudal' should be substituted for 'monastic' on p. 64.

A word should be added in praise of the chronological table and bibliography, which will at least double the worth of the volume for purposes of reference. We think the merits of the former should have entitled it to appear in a bolder type.

*A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day.* By G. SAINTSBURY, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. I. *From the Origins to Spenser.* (London : Macmillan and Co.) 10s. net.

A HISTORY of prosody is a somewhat thankless task. Ninety-nine readers of poetry out of a hundred will be disposed to regard the statement of the writer's opinions as superfluous if they are orthodox, and as a fad if they are original ; and few will be interested in them in either case. Nevertheless, it is a work which ought to be done, and which cannot safely be left to foreign scholars ; consequently it is very proper work for a university professor of English Literature. Professor Saintsbury is well fitted for the task by the extent of his learning, which we should be prepared to believe even without his repeated affirmations of it ; and the somewhat elephantine pleasantries by which he seeks to enliven it must be accepted as an inseparable part of his style.

In the present volume (the first of two in which the work is to be completed), Professor Saintsbury deals with the period from the beginnings of English literature to the publication of the *Fairie Queene*—the period in which the character of English prosody was fixed. His view is that which, to readers trained (as nearly all male students of English literature are trained) on the classical tradition, will always appear to be orthodox—namely, that the basis of English prosody is the foot, not the stress or accent. The foot, however, instead of being tied down to a fixed number of syllables, as in French, admitted of a large amount of variation by substitution and equivalence, as in Greek, and herein lies the secret of the music and infinite variety of English rhythms. The tendency to such elasticity may have been derived (as was the tendency to alliteration) from Anglo-Saxon, as the use of the foot was from French ; and the history of English prosody, from the revival of the vernacular literature after the Norman Conquest, is the history of the contest between these principles. In *Layamon* (the first important work of the revived literature) we have a predominantly Anglo-Saxon rhythm modified by a tendency to rhyme and metre ; in the contemporary *Ormulum*, we have a monotonously uniform iambic metre, without substitutions. Through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the metrical poetry asserts its predominance, with an increasing freedom of substitution and elasticity of feet, which differentiates English poetry from the contemporary

French. In the fourteenth century comes the triumph of English prosody in Chaucer, accompanied by the curious revival of the alliterative Anglo-Saxon rhythms, of which the most famous exponent is Langland. In the fifteenth century Chaucer's triumph is undone by the linguistic changes in English which profoundly modified the metrical values of words, and led Lydgate and Occleve to wallow in a slough of unrhythymical verses. Chaucer's work had consequently to be done again with the new English, partly by Wyatt and Surrey, but mainly and definitely by Spenser, with whose wonderful music the narrative for the present closes. All these stages the reader will find amply set out and illustrated by quotations, which lighten the course of the exposition by snatches of quaint and beautiful verse.

It is not in the least likely that Professor Saintsbury will convince a single one of the theorists who differ from him. He relies on a simple exposition of the phenomena to establish his case, but they are as well acquainted as he with the phenomena in question : only they explain them differently. The average reader will probably accept Professor Saintsbury's principles without reserve ; but other exponents of metrical criticism will continue to prefer their own more recondite explanation. Fortunately it does not matter.

*Sir Thomas Browne.* By EDMUND GOSSE. 'English Men of Letters.' (London : Macmillan and Co.) 2s. net.

MR. GOSSE's book appeared first in the year 1905 during which the city of Norwich—Sir Thomas Browne's chosen place of residence for forty-six years—was engaged in celebrating, by the erection of a statue to his memory, the tercentenary of the birth of her great physician and scholar. It may be doubted how far Browne himself would have approved of either kind of posthumous honour. His own words on the subject are well known. 'At my death,' he said, 'I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a monument, history, or epitaph—not so much as the bare memory of my name to be found anywhere but in the universal register of God.' There are doubtless good reasons to be found for not pushing respect for these sentiments too far. Something is due to posterity as well as to a man's own wishes. But it is impossible to regard the action of those who removed Browne's skull from the grave and placed it in a pathological museum with anything but the severest

reprobation. The piety of the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford has provided such reparation as seemed feasible ; but nothing short of the replacement of the relic in its original resting-place can be deemed satisfactory.

Those who are acquainted with Mr. Gosse's literary workmanship will have expected at his hands a lively and readable account of Sir Thomas' career and character. They will not be disappointed. Mr. Gosse always writes with conviction, if not invariably with accuracy. His literary judgements are trenchant and original, though they may often fail to secure our assent. He has made the most of the few salient incidents in his hero's life, and duly brings into prominence Browne's blameless character, his profound learning, subtle imagination, and matchless style. But in following the critic through his somewhat diffuse comments on the *Religio Medici*, the *Vulgar Errors*, and the *Urn Burial*, we cannot resist the impression that his portrayal of the man and his works, though striking and full of detail, is not entirely faithful to the original. An attentive study of the *Religio Medici* will, we are convinced, produce in most minds the opinion that Browne was a far better and more sincere Christian than Mr. Gosse will have him to be. In this and in some other respects the commentator's rhetoric has run away with him. But there is at least one point in which we agree with Mr. Gosse rather than with certain less discriminating eulogists of Browne who have dealt with the same subject. The incident of the witch-hanging at Bury St. Edmund's in 1664 was from every point of view deplorable. Mr. Gosse is probably right in holding that a word from Sir Thomas, or even his silence at the trial, would have saved the lives of the unhappy women who there met their doom. Sir Thomas Browne, by his own avowal, was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made ; but on this occasion he might have taken the side of truth and justice with small inconvenience to himself. That he threw, gratuitously as it seems to us, the full weight of his authority and influence into the wrong scale, can never be anything but a grievous blot as well upon his understanding as his humanity.

But in spite of all this, the famous physician of Norwich remains one of the most interesting and attractive figures in the literary history of the seventeenth century. Amid the strife and tumult of that restless and strenuous age, when even the most peaceably disposed were driven by force of circumstances into bitter partisanship and relentless action, it is with

a sense at once of surprise and relief that we discover a man of commanding genius and lofty character, whose qualities impressed themselves in full measure upon all that was best in the intellect of his time, and who yet passed his life in complete detachment from the warfare of sword and pen which engaged the activity of nearly all his contemporaries :

‘ Far from the madding crowd’s ignoble strife,  
    His sober wishes never learned to stray ;  
Along the cool sequestered vale of life  
    He kept the noiseless tenour of his way.’

Browne was neither a man of action nor of controversy ; he made no great discovery in science, nor did he contribute in any degree to the progress of medicine. A simple votary of the ‘fallentis semita vitae,’ he was content with the practice of his profession in a quiet provincial town remote from the centres of intellectual and political activity, and found in the enjoyment of his home life, in the careful upbringing of his sons and daughters, in the study of books and of nature, and in the composition of those works which are our precious heritage to-day, the full gratification of his modest and single-hearted aspirations.

*Sydney Smith.* By GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL. ‘ English Men of Letters.’ New Series. (London : Macmillan and Co.) 2s. net.

IT may not unfairly be said that 250 crown octavo pages can easily reproduce all that is worth handing down to posterity of Sydney Smith’s career. The life of the great wit and unwearied reviewer was singularly uneventful. He passed from Winchester and Oxford, after two years at a country curacy, to take charge of two pupils who were studying at Edinburgh, where he made the acquaintance of Jeffrey and Lord Brougham and started the *Edinburgh Review*. Murmurs about his poverty hardly accord with the remuneration he received of 400*l.* a year for each of his pupils, with his own statement that he was invariably paid 45*l.* a sheet for his articles (of which he wrote eighteen in the first four numbers of the *Edinburgh*) or with his fee of 200*l.* for lectures at the Royal Institution on Moral Philosophy, a subject with which he had only the most superficial acquaintance. Those who care to go over again the story of the fight for Catholic Emancipation and the first Reform Bill (and to many of us no reading seems more barren than these

dead and buried controversies in the letters of Peter Plymley or of Junius) will find the most salient points of the protagonist in those struggles skilfully set forth by Mr. Russell. Sydney Smith's ardour for reform was speedily checked when its spirit invaded his own ecclesiastical preserves, and his fervid denunciation of the Ecclesiastical Commission reads strangely in the light of the blessings it has secured for Church and people. It is well, perhaps, that a biographer should be enamoured of his subject, while for ourselves we readily admit the kindness, the wit, the vigour of Sydney Smith, but we hold that his gifts were strangely out of place in his sacred calling. It was notorious that he entered upon Holy Orders without any sense of a vocation, and to the last he failed to realize, in his lofty and prominent position, its responsibilities and privileges. He was content as canon of St. Paul's to become little more than a frequenter and entertainer of the fashionable world in politics and literature.

*Matthew Arnold.* By G. W. E. RUSSELL. 'Literary Lives' Series.  
(London : Hodder and Stoughton.) 3s. 6d.

Mr. RUSSELL begins his literary appreciation of Matthew Arnold by claiming that it is designed to cover ground which has not hitherto been filled, either by the criticism of eminent authors or by his own well-edited edition of Arnold's Letters. His aim in the present volume is to survey the effect produced on the thought and action of his age by a great master—for as such Mr. Russell regards him—and after a brief introductory chapter, which deals mainly with Arnold's poetry, he divides his subjects under the five heads of Method, Education, Society, Conduct and Theology. It is, of course, absolutely necessary for a biographer to magnify his office, if he would have his readers accept a high estimate of his subject. Yet despite Mr. Russell's transparently genuine admiration, we cannot repress some amusement at the self-possessed complacency with which Matthew Arnold appraised his own work, and looked down quite benignantly upon the world, which in all life's most important departments—literature, education, politics, theology—was going so sadly astray, and which it was his mission to set right. For example, without denying his verse many of the qualities Mr. Russell attributes to it, does it not betoken a sufficient degree of self-esteem for a man to write of his own work : 'It might be fairly urged that I have less poetic sentiment than Tennyson, and less intellectual vigour and abundance than Browning. Yet because I have more perhaps of a fusion of the two than either

of them, and have more regularly applied that fusion to the main line of modern development, I am likely enough to have my turn, as they have had theirs' (pp. 8, 9). Tennyson and Browning put aside to give place to Matthew Arnold on the platform of poetry !

In the two fields of literary criticism and national education Matthew Arnold did work of indisputable importance. It is strange that his refined taste in the former did not preserve him from some whimsicalities and tricks of style and phraseology which greatly disfigure much of his writing. In national education he was a pioneer, and pointed forward to the goal whither we are slowly tending. He foresaw the necessity for placing elementary education under municipal control, strongly advocated Government and compulsory supervision of secondary schools and looked forward to the construction of a system that should open the ascent from primary to university instruction to all who were competent to use it. In the chapters upon society and conduct Mr. Russell, besides giving an elaborate analysis of some of Arnold's best known works, brings out into deserved prominence his persistent and meritorious insistence upon the necessity for purity as a safeguard of national welfare, and his abhorrence of the Divorce Court, of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and of all other attempts to break down the barriers which protect national chastity and religion. Upon Arnold's theology we adopt Mr. Gladstone's words : 'It is very difficult to keep one's temper in dealing with Mr. Arnold when he touches on religious matters. His patronage of a Christianity fashioned by himself is, to me, more trying and offensive than rank unbelief' (p. 254). This exactly describes the overweening self-sufficiency which is the dominant note of Matthew Arnold's writings, but which need not blind us to the personal charm that has inspired Mr. Russell's beautiful tribute to the memory of his friend.

*The Mystery of Newman.* By HENRI BREMOND. Translated by H. C. CORRANCE. (Williams and Norgate, 1907). 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a deeply interesting and very ably written book which it is difficult to deal with in a Short Notice. There is much in it which is very striking, not a little that needs, and perhaps will not bear, keen criticism, and the whole is the expression of an almost passionate admiration for a great and beautiful personality. M. Bremond, who no longer adds the letters 'S.J.' to his name, which (if we mistake not) described him when he wrote his earlier books, is well known in England by his study of Anglicanism called *L'Inquiétude religieuse*, and by his sketch of Sir Thomas More. To him Tractarianism is interesting but hollow ; Sydney

Smith is the typical English clergyman, so *bourgeois* and happy; and Pusey, the man of learning and stability, is simply *entête*. Coming now to Newman, who is utterly unlike the Canon of St. Paul's or the Professor of Hebrew, but who was a Tractarian and died a cardinal, M. Bremond finds in him a most fascinating subject of study. Father Tyrrell, whose name at present has a special attraction for many who find the dominant school of Romanism especially unattractive, has written an introduction, in which he suggests that Newman, with all his 'abhorrence of doctrinal liberalism,' may yet be 'the progenitor of it,' and that 'just those Catholics for whom Newman would have felt the utmost antipathy—those, namely, who, in spite of the Syllabus, entertain sanguine hopes of coming to terms with the modern mind—have learnt to look to him and to his methods as the sole hope of their cause.'

It is then an original presentation of Newman that M. Bremond gives us in a very remarkable study. The book is keenly and unhesitatingly Roman, and yet it is full of gracious and kindly feeling towards the English Church. For example, 'As a Catholic he certainly had the right to show the inconsistencies of Anglicanism, but I shall never be persuaded that he was obeying the Spirit of God when he allowed himself to ridicule the religion of his mother, of Keble, of Pusey, and of so many beautiful souls.' And this is the spirit in which M. Bremond has written throughout, a spirit which we warmly reciprocate.

The thesis of the book seems to be that the whole history of Newman, emotional, intellectual and literary, was the 'history of his personal relations with God.' That was the secret, the key to the contradictions. The changes M. Bremond regards as inevitable, the final result as glorious. But as the process of change is followed, when Newman is estimated as a solitary, a suspect, a controversialist, a poet, an historian, a theologian, a writer and preacher, and so on, into the intimate recesses of his personal life, the 'invisible realities,' the 'silence of God,' we find a continuous and deep sympathy which yet does not overpower the critical judgement. M. Bremond is as close a critic as he is a passionate admirer. This gives his book, in spite of its affectations—and it has many literary affectations and airs—a very genuine personal interest, and for that we welcome it. From a literary point of view perhaps the most interesting feature of the work is the elaborate comparison of Newman with Bossuet, a comparison which seems very strange at first to an English reader. The historical criticism is equally interesting,

and it involves a good deal of sharp treatment of *Philomythus* by the way. The 'emotional method' of Newman is extremely well characterized, and it belongs to his theology as well as to his history. If it seems absent from his sermons there is still in them the most intensely personal note. But this and very much more can be read only in M. Bremond's own words. We are glad that he comes to the conclusion that Dean Church was entirely right when he wrote of Newman, 'What won his heart and enthusiasm was one thing; what justified itself to its enthusiasm was another'; and that his own personal decision is expressed in the words—

'Let others celebrate in him the implacable controversialist, the man who had a genius for irony, the master of analysis and subtle phraseology; for me the true Newman is, before and above all, that *Agellius* who blushes with timid affection when he pronounces the name of Christ— he is that *Gerontius* whose soul sinks down before the throne of God.'

It was indeed as a 'witness of the invisible' that Newman was strong.

The translation is well done, but it contains some mistakes, as does the text itself: e.g. (p. 10) the memoir referred to in connexion with the late Mr. Arthur Strong was not *of* but *by* Lord Balcarres: the Jesuit hall at Oxford (p. 45) bears the name of its head not in compliment to him (or disparagement of Newman) but because it is a private hall thus named by University statute law; facts hardly warrant the opinion (p. 77), which the translator vouches for as 'a very true judgment,' that 'Ritualism belongs to the past'; it was not (p. 82) Mr. W. Hutton but Mr. Arthur Hutton who 'stayed some time with Newman at Edgbaston,' and whose criticism of him had a sharp touch of bitterness; and there are a few other slips throughout the book which might well be corrected in a second edition, if the recent inclusion of the work in the *Index Expurgatorius* fails to kill it.

*Lord Acton and His Circle.* Edited by ABBOT GASQUET, O.S.B. (George Allen and Burns & Oates, n.d.) 15s. net.

WHILE the *Lectures* of Lord Acton at least explain, if they do not add to, his reputation, we doubt if the same can be said of the volume of his Letters on Religion and Literature edited by Abbot Gasquet. The letters are mainly concerned with defunct periodicals, which had a certain interest in their day, and with

the difficulties and disagreements among Roman Catholics in the thirteen years which preceded the declaration of Papal infallibility. A few details are new, but they are not very important. For the most part the letters are disappointingly trivial. The squabbles are, at least as seen to-day, extremely petty, and seem hardly worthy of the elaborate attention and explanation which they receive from the editor in his lengthy introduction. Perhaps the most interesting point is the identification of Newman as the author of a 'much-debated' paper in the *Rambler* on 'Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine.' But there are illustrations of Acton's opinions and criticism, which must always have a certain value. He is seen as an extremely laborious editor and a leading actor in 'the revival of learning among Catholics.' Almost as important was Mr. Richard Simpson (to whom most of the letters were written), the author of the really famous Life of Edmund Campion, of the very inconclusive attempt to prove Shakespeare a papist, and of innumerable articles and papers in Romanist periodicals. A great deal of theology and a great deal of contemporary literature is discussed, and the impression of Lord Acton's judgement left by the discussion is not a very high one. The matter for which most people will consult the letters is the writer's view of the temporal power and the Vatican Decrees. They will be somewhat disappointed, on account of editorial omissions. But they will learn that in regard to the former Lord Acton said that 'the religious argument will not bear examination. It will raise up more enemies than friends'; and that, while accepting the infallibility dogma, he explained that he did it in the sense that he 'did not reject it.' 'As the bishops, who are our guides, have accepted the Decrees, so have I. They are a law to me as much as those of Trent, not from any private interpretation, but from the authority from which they come.' But, on the whole, the letters are singularly disappointing, and cannot compare in interest with those to Miss Gladstone (Mrs. Drew) published three years ago. They are brief, they obviously have many omissions, and their whole presentation of the serious subjects of dispute is incomplete. In fact, where we should have liked to read Lord Acton at length we are not allowed to, and where we do read him at length he says nothing in particular which many another educated man might not have said. A really very unsatisfactory book, which adds hardly anything to our knowledge, is the best we can say of the selection which Abbot Gasquet has edited.

*A Proposed Lexicon of Patristic Greek.*

THERE are few students who have not desired such a work of reference again and again—there are fewer who would care to undertake to make one. It is only by co-operation that such a task can be successfully carried out on modern lines, and therefore the proposal which has been put forward by the Society of Sacred Study deserves the strenuous support of all those who take an interest in any branch of the subject. An editor has been secured in Dr. Redpath, who has laid all scholars under deep obligation by his labours in connexion with Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint*, and it is proposed to include in the scope of the work all Greek Fathers down to A.D. 500, and, if sufficient helpers can be found, down to John of Damascus (A.D. 750). Any students who are willing to volunteer to help, by contributing materials already collected or collecting fresh ones, are asked to communicate with Dr. Redpath at 10 Idol Lane, London, E.C.

## PERIODICALS.

*The Journal of Theological Studies* (Vol. VIII. No. 32. July 1907. Frowde). W. Sanday: 'The Apocalypse.' Reviews Dr. Swete's edition and Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches*. H. B. Swete: 'Prayer for the Departed in the first four Centuries.' W. O. E. Oesterley: 'Codex Taurinensis (Y),' IX. Mgr. G. Mercati and A. Souter: 'Some new Fragments of Pelagius.' MS. Paris. Lat. 653 (saec. ix.) and two leaves of a Vat. MS. (saec vi.). E. S. Buchanan: 'The Codex Muratorianus.' MS. Mediol. Ambr. I. 101 sup. T. W. Crafer: 'Macarius Magnes, a neglected Apologist, II.' Dom Connolly: 'I. The *Diatessaron* in the Syriac *Acts of John*. II. Jacob of Serug and the *Diatessaron*.' Dom Chapman: 'On an Apostolic Tradition that Christ was baptized in 46 and crucified under Nero.' E. O. Winstedt: 'Notes on the MSS. of Cosmas Indicopleustes.' MSS. Vat. Gr. 699, Laur. Plut. ix. 28, Sinait. 1186. G. A. Cooke: 'Sayce and Cowley Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan.' F. G. Kenyon: 'K. Lake Codex H of the Pauline Epistles.' B. J. Kidd: 'Lindsay The Reformation.' E. W. Watson: 'Overton and Relton *The English Church in the XVIIIth Century*.' F. Granger: 'Reitzenstein Poemandres: studien zur griech.-ägyptischen u. frühchristl. Literatur.'

*The Expositor* (Nos. 19-21. July-September 1907. Hodder and Stoughton). A. E. Garvie: 'The Risen Lord.' J. Iverach: 'Pantheism' (continued August). F. C. Conybeare: 'The newly discovered Treatise of Irenaeus.' J. H. Moulton: 'The Epistle of James and the Sayings of Jesus.' J. Moffatt: 'Wellhausen on the Fourth Gospel.' W. B. Neatby: 'Mr. William Kelly as a Theologian.' N. H. Marshall: 'The Philosophical Method of the New Theology' (continued August). August. Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Divine Child in Virgil: a Sequel to Prof. Mayor's Study, II.' (See June.) G. S. Streatfeild: 'The Apologetic Value of

Criticism.' W. O. E. Oesterley : 'The Demonology of the Old Testament illustrated by Ps. xci.' W. W. Holdsworth : 'Faith in the Fourth Gospel.' September. Sir W. M. Ramsay : 'A Christian City in the Byzantine Age.' I. Barata in Lycaonia. H. R. Mackintosh : 'Christian Theology and Comparative Religion.' B. W. Bacon : 'The Martyr Apostles.' J. H. Michael : 'The Gift of Tongues at Corinth.' F. R. M. Hitchcock : 'The Dramatic Development of the Fourth Gospel.' J. Moffatt : 'Literary Illustrations of Ecclesiasticus.'

*The Hibbert Journal* (Vol. V. No. 4. July 1907. Williams and Norgate). Sir E. Russell : 'John Watson.' J. Royce : 'Immortality.' H. Jones : 'Divine Immanence.' A. C. M'Giffert : 'Divine Immanence and the Christian Purpose.' Bishop of Clogher : 'The Sufficiency of the Christian Ethic.' J. M. Lloyd Thomas : 'The Free Catholic Ideal.' W. R. Huntington : 'Tract No. XCI. The Articles of Religion from an American Point of View.' J. Collier : 'Who is the Christian Deity?' W. Warde Fowler : 'Religion and Citizenship in Early Rome—a Study of arrested Development.' P. E. Matheson : 'Character and Citizenship in Dante.' S. A. Barnett : 'The Religion of the People.' J. J. Findlay : '"What are You?"—The Child's Answer.' Discussions. A. Campbell Frazer : 'Our Final Venture' (*H. J. Jan.*). Reviews. G. Tyrrell and H. Rashdall : 'R. J. Campbell *The New Theology.*' G. E. Underhill : 'L. T. Hobhouse *Morals in Evolution.*' J. W. Scott : 'J. B. Baillie *Outline of the Idealistic Construction of Experience.*' H. C. Stewart : 'F. C. S. Schiller *Studies in Humanism.*' W. C. Allen : 'Harnack *Lukas der Arzt.*' T. K. Cheyne : 'Briggs *Psalms, I. II.*' A. Bennett : 'M. C. Albright *The Common Heritage.*'

*The American Journal of Theology* (Vol. XI. No. 3. July 1907. Chicago University Press). H. Rashdall : 'The Motive of Modern Missionary Work.' 'Recent Changes in Theology in the Protestant Episcopal Church.' A. C. M'Giffert : 'Mysticism in the Early Church.' H. A. Youtz : 'Three Conceptions of God.' Supernaturalism, Naturalism, Immanence. B. W. Bacon : 'Acts v. Galatians: the Crux of Apostolic History.' W. Köhler : 'Modern Italy and Pius X.' E. Nestle : 'The Gospels in the Latin Vulgate.' K. Fullerton : 'Shebna and Eliakim—a Reply.' To E. König (Oct. 1906). C. C. Torrey : 'Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.' I. M. Price : 'Cornill *Das Buch Jeremia.*' G. A. Barton : 'P. Jensen *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Welt-literatur.*' R. T. Herford : 'Friedländer *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu.*' H. A. A. Kennedy : 'Ramsay Pauline and other Studies.' W. C. Keirstead : 'Kaftan Jesus u. Paulus' and 'Gwatkin *The Knowledge of God.*' J. S. Riggs : 'J. Reid Jesus and Nicodemus' and 'E. F. Scott *The Fourth Gospel.*' C. Anderson Scott : 'Bousset *Die Offenbarung Johannis*' and 'Swete *Apocalypse.*' W. T. Paullin : 'Rivaud *Le problème du devenir et la notion de la matière dans la philosophie grecque jusqu'à Théophraste*' and 'Les notions d'essence et d'existence dans Spinoza.' G. W. Gillmore : 'Hamilton *Incubation.*'

*The Princeton Theological Review* (Vol. V. No. 3. July 1907. Princeton University Press). B. B. Warfield : 'Augustine's Doctrine of Knowledge and Authority.' W. H. Johnson : 'Was Paul the Founder

of Christianity?' G. Vos : 'The Priesthood of Christ in the Epistle to the Ephesians.' D. Beaton : 'Thomas Boston.' Reviews. B. B. Warfield : 'N. R. Wood *The Witness of Sin—a Theodicy*'; 'S. Lloyd *The Corrected English New Testament*' H. C. Minton : 'E. E. Powell *Spinoza and Religion*' G. Macloskie : 'Schmid *The Scientific Creed of a Theologian*' G. F. Greene : 'Seaver *To Christ through Criticism*' G. Vos : 'N. Schmidt *The Prophet of Nazareth*'; 'Kaftan Jesus u. Paulus.' W. P. Armstrong : 'Burkitt *The Gospel History and its Transmission*' W. H. Johnson : 'Ramsay *Pauline and other Studies*' E. B. Welsh : 'Lang *Der Heidelberg Katechismus u. vier verwandte Katechismen*' C. W. Hodge : 'W. A. Brown *Christian Theology in Outline*'

*The Dublin Review* (Vol. XLI. No. 282. July 1907. Burns and Oates). W. Ward : 'Two Views of Cardinal Newman.' Reviews. M. Bremond and Mr. W. J. Williams : 'Mme. Swetchine.' W. Barry : 'Roma Sacra.' P. J. Connolly, S. J. : 'F. Brunetière as Critic and Man of Letters.' R. H. Benson : 'A Modern Theory of Human Personality.' M. Kinloch : 'S. Ninian a Missionary of the Vth Century.' H. Thurston, S.J. : 'The Feast of the Dead.' Reviews 'Frazer *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*' 'Count Lally of Fontenoy and the Bastille.' Cte. A. de Mun : 'La question religieuse en France.' Reviews. 'Hobhouse *Morals in Evolution*' 'G. M. Trevelyan *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*' 'J. A. R. Marriott *Viscount Falkland*' 'A. Mathew *Sir Tobie Mathew*' 'Salmon *The Human Element in the Gospels*' 'Huchon *George Crabbe and his Times*' 'Romanes *Story of Port Royal*' B. C. A. W[indle] : 'Le Dantec *The Origin and Nature of Life*'

*The London Quarterly Review* (No. 215. July 1907. C. H. Kelly). W. T. Davison : 'Progress in Theology.' A. E. Keeling : 'Carducci, the Man and the Poet.' J. S. Banks : 'The New India.' W. F. Moulton : 'Puritanism—Past and Present.' Reviews 'Dale *Congregationalism*' H. L. Bishop : 'Recent Works on the Ba-Ronga.' R. McLeod : 'Longfellow—a Centenary Appreciation.' A. C. Hollis : 'The Masai and their Traditions.' H. T. Hooper : 'F. W. Maitland *Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen*' C. L. Hare : 'Psychical Research and Religious Thought.' 'Bussell *Christian Theology and Social Progress*' 'E. A. Abbott *Apologia*' 'Briggs *Psalms*, II.' 'W. C. Allen *St. Matthew*' 'J. B. Mayor *Jude and II Peter*' 'Workman *The Servant of Jehovah*' 'Du Bose *The Gospel according to St. Paul*' 'H. C. Sheldon *Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century*' 'Tucker *Life in Ancient Athens*' 'Plummer *English Church History*, III.' 'Liveing *Records of Romsey Abbey*' 'Bremond *The Mystery of Newman*' 'E. Ray Lankester *The Kingdom of Man*' 'Harnack and Herrmann *Essays on the Social Gospel*'

*The Review and Expositor* (Vol. IV. No. 3. July 1907. Louisville, Ky.). W. H. Whitsitt : 'J. A. Broadus.' Dawson Walker : 'I Corinthians i.—viii.' R. H. Graves : 'Revolt of the Individual.' W. T. Whitley : 'The Story of Missions in Five Continents' (continued). D. C. Macintosh : 'The Significance of Gnosticism in the Development of Christian Theology with special Reference to the *Pistis Sophia*' J. Palmer : 'The Contemporaneous Origin of the Gospels.' Reviews. B. H. De Ment : 'Briggs *Psalms*, I.' D. J. Evans : 'C. F. Kent *Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament*' L. W. Doolan : 'Wiener Studies in

*Biblical Law.*' G. B. Eager : 'I. M. Price *The Origin of our English Bible.*' A. T. Robertson : 'Abbott Silanus the Christian.'

*The Jewish Quarterly Review* (Vol. XIX. No. 76. July 1907. Macmillan). J. H. A. Hart : 'Corban.' Noteworthy. I. Last : 'J. Ibn Kaspi *Sharshoth Kesef.*' A Hebrew Dictionary of Roots. G. H. Skipwith : 'The Lord of Heaven.' I. Elbogen : 'Studies in the Hebrew Liturgy, II.' E. J. Worman : 'Forms of Address in Genizah Letters.' A. Cohen : 'Hebrew Incunabula at Cambridge.' H. S. A. Henriques : 'The Political Rights of English Jews,' II. L. Blau : 'A. S. Geden *Masoretic and other Notes in the B.F.B.S. Edition of the Hebrew Scriptures.*' S. A. Cook : 'J. Orr Problem of the Old Testament.'

*The Expository Times* (Vol. XVIII. Nos. 11-13. July-September 1907. T. and T. Clark). J. H. Beibitz : 'Some Modern Views of the Atonement.' F. Field : 'Seeing Christ.' Sermon on St. John xvi. 16 by the Author of *Otium Norvicense.* H. W. Horwill : 'The Exegesis of Christian Science.' (The late) F. Blass : 'The Origin and Character of our Gospels, III. St. John' (August IV. St. Matthew). K. T. Frost : 'The Siege of Jericho and the Strategy of the Exodus.' J. S. Banks : 'Baentsch *Altorientalischer u. israelitischer Monotheismus.*' Schliebitz *Iso'dādh's Kommentar zum Buche Hiob*, I.' Reviews. 'F. Harrison *The Creed of a Layman.'* H. A. Redpath *Ezekiel.*' D. S. Margoliouth : 'Ecclesiasticus in Arabic Literature.' V. Bartlet : 'The late G. Frommel and his Writings.' M. D. Gibson : 'Num. xii. 14.' E. Nestle : 'I Thess. iii. 3.' Read *σωτερθαυ.* August. J. D. Fleming : 'Another Estimate of Ritschl (also Sept.).' A. H. Sayce : 'Recent Biblical Archaeology—Nippur, Babel, The Medes.' W. O. E. Oesterley : 'The Burning Bush.' J. K. Mozley : 'Punishment as Retribution.' A. Carr : 'The Virgin Birth in St. John's Gospel.' R. J. Fox : 'Cain—Abel—Seth.' L. A. Pooler : 'The Name *Jahweh.*' E. Nestle : 'Deut. xxii. 10.' J. T. S. Stopford : 'Note on Lament. i. 12.' G. Henslow : 'Almug or Algum.' Reviews. J. Taylor : 'Peisker *Die Beziehungen der Nichtisraeliten zu Jahve.*' J. V. Prášek : 'Wünsche *Die Schönheit der Bibel.*' W. R. Morfill : 'The Russian Sects.' W. L. Walker : 'Warschauer *The New Evangel—Studies in the 'New Theology.'*' Cheyne *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel.*' September. 'Mr. J. H. A. Hart on Corban.' Dr. Rashdall on the Motive of Modern Missionary Work.' J. H. Moulton : 'A Zoroastrian Idyll.' R. M. Lithgow : 'The Theology of the Parables.' D. Smith : 'The Nickname Son of Man.' (The late) F. Blass : 'The Origin and Character of our Gospels' (concluded). J. Moffatt : 'H. P. Forbes *The Johannine Literature and the Acts.*' I. Abrahams *Judaism.*' Ragg *The Gospel of Barnabas.*' S. Mathews *The Church and the Changing Order.*' J. Rutherford : 'Note on Coloss. ii. 15.' H. F. B. Compston : 'The "Cicero Touch" in the Athanasian Creed.' An interesting comparison. F. Dixon : 'The Exegesis of Christian Science.' J. H. Moulton : 'Almug.'

*The Interpreter* (Vol. III. No. 4. July 1907. Simpkin, Marshall). W. Lock : 'The Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel.' C. F. Burney : 'The Rise of a Belief in a Future Life in Israel.' F. J. Foakes-Jackson : 'Israel and Greece.' J. Herkless : 'The Church of Scotland and its Confession of Faith.' W. A. Cox : 'Judas Iscariot.' T. Hodgkin : 'Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, II.' H. W. Clark : 'Christ's

deeper Thought beneath His Promise of Rest.' Reviews. 'Lindsay's *The Reformation, II.*' 'Russell and Rigby *The Making of the Criminal.*'

*The Quarterly Review* (No. 412. July 1907. John Murray). G. Leigh : 'Dante's *Inferno*—an Autobiography.' 'The Varieties of English Speech' 'Home Counties': 'The Case for the Goat.' L. Toulmin Smith : 'The English Manor.' R. Lucas : 'Lord Beaconsfield's Novels.' E. Clodd : 'Magic and Religion.' 'Indian Poverty and Discontent.'

*The Edinburgh Review* (No. 421. July 1907. Longmans). 'The Aesthetic Outlook: Walter Pater.' 'Convocation and the Church of England.' 'The Monumental Brasses of England.' 'The British Novel as an Institution.' 'William Cobbett.' 'Irish Parliamentary Antiquities.' 'Mme. Necker and her Salon.' 'Black and White.'

*The Albany Review* (Vol. I. Nos. 4–6. July–September 1907. John Lane). J. A. Hill : 'Mysticism.' J. H. Ingram : 'Edgar Allan Poe and "Stella." ' G. Bowman : 'The Labour Movement in Spain.' D. MacCarthy : 'Walter Savage Landor.' G. W. E. Russell : 'Garibaldi.' Reviews Mr. G. M. Trevelyan. G. G. A. Murray : 'History and Tragedy.' Reviews 'Cornford *Thucydides Mythistoricus*.' L. Binyon : 'Mr. Sturge Moore's *Corregio*.' August. H. Belloc : 'The Midi.' R. Lawson : 'The Civic Import of the Pageant.' S. Webb : 'Paupers and Old Age Pensions.' K. Walter : 'The Labour Movement in Italy.' A. Sidgwick : 'Humanism.' Reviews Dr. F. C. S. Schiller. D. MacCarthy : 'Paul Verlaine.' September. Sir J. Macdonell : 'The Hague Conference: Gains and Losses.' E. Carpenter : 'Morality under Socialism.' Baron F. von Hügel : 'Relations between God and Man.' Criticizes Rev. R. J. Campbell. A. Thorold : 'Joris-Karl Huysmans.' 'A Country Parson': 'The Evil of Tied Cottages.' T. Hodgkin : 'Liberia and the Congo.' G. L. Strachey : 'Paston Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.' F. W. Hirst : 'S. and B. Webb *Parish and County*.'

*The Contemporary Review* (Nos. 499–501. July–September 1907. Horace Marshall). A. N. Jannaris : 'Another pre-historic City in Crete.' G. Barlow : 'Optimism or Pessimism?' Countess E. Martinengo Cesaresco : 'Man and his Brother.' G. G. Coulton : 'Priests and People before the Reformation, II.' Havelock Ellis : 'The Art of Spain.' G. B. Gray : 'The Comparative Criticism of Semitic Literature.' Reviews. 'W. Raleigh *Shakespeare*'; 'M'Ewans *Hume's Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*.' August. Sir O. Lodge : 'The Religious Education of Children.' T. W. Rolleston : 'Gods and Saints in Ancient Ireland.' J. Orr : 'The Problem of the Old Testament re-stated.' E. Sellers : 'Poor Relief in the Balkans.' E. Crawford : 'Mediaeval and Renaissance Portraiture.' J. Quail : 'The Wealth of the Workers.' A. H. Sayce : 'Social Life in Asia Minor in the Abrahamic Age.' E. M. Caillard : 'The Divine Man.' Reviews. 'Hanotaux *Contemporary France*' [E.T.], III.; 'Frommel *Etudes littéraires et morales*'; 'Sayce and Cowley *Aramaic Papyri*'; 'E. Naville *The Tomb of Hâtshopsitâ*'; 'G. F. Abbott *Israel in Europe*'; 'Baskerville *The Polish Jew—his social and economic Value*'; 'Workman *The Servant of Jehovah*'; 'Hálid *The Crescent v. The Cross*.' September. Sir W. M. Ramsay : 'St. Paul's Philosophy of History.' E. E. Lang : 'The All-India Moslem League.' L. M. Phillipps : 'Gothic Architecture and the Gothic Race.' T. H. Weir : 'Arab and Hebrew Prose Writers.' E. W. Cook : 'The Purpose of Art.' Cte. S. C. de Soissons : 'Jean August

Ingres.' Reviews. 'C. R. Conder *Critics and the Law*'; 'J. W. Thirtle *O.T. Problems*'; 'Lindsay *The Reformation, II.*'; 'J. S. Simon *The Revival of Religion in England in the XVIIIth Century*'; 'Rauschenbosch *Christianity and the Social Crisis*'; 'K. Freeman *Schools of Hellas*'.

*The Catholic World* (Nos. 508-510. July-September 1907. New York). W. Wilberforce: 'Manning's Domestic Side.' F. Aveling: 'Faith and Science.' G. M. Searle: 'Recent Results of Psychical Research, VI.' (*continued* August-September). W. J. Kerby: 'Aims in Socialism' (August: 'Attitudes towards Socialism'). M. Turmann: 'Recent Developments in France,' II. (*continued* August). Reviews. 'Lucas Malet *The Far Horizon*': (very favourable); 'R. H. Benson *Papers of a Pariah*'; 'Faquet *L'Anticléricalisme*'; 'G. H. Putnam *The Censorship of the Church of Rome*' (a history of the Index 'honourably free from bias'). August. H. P. Russell: 'The Spirit of Newman.' Reviews. 'Batiffol *Questions d'enseignement supérieur ecclésiastique*'; 'A Meynell *The Flower of the Mind*. September. F. Aveling: 'Two Catechisms.' Reviews Sir Oliver Lodge. F. Klein: 'Paris and French Politics.' 'The New Syllabus (Latin and English).' Reviews. 'Douais *L'Inquisition. Ses Origines. Sa Procédure*'; 'Vacandard *L'Inquisition. Essai sur le Pouvoir Coercitif de l'Église*'; 'P. Bureau *La Crise morale des Temps nouveaux*'.

*The Churchman* (Vol. XXI. Nos. 19-21. July-September 1907. Stock). Bishop of Clogher: 'Divine Immanence and Christian Experience.' F. S. G. Warman: 'The Person of our Lord and the Kenotic Theory' (*continued* August). A. B. G. Lillington: 'The Church and Recreation.' G. E. White: 'Ex Oriente Lux.' Reviews. 'G. F. Wright *Scientific Confirmations of O.T. History*'; 'Ferries *The Growth of Christian Faith*'; 'F. Watson *Inspiration*'; 'E. F. Scott *The Fourth Gospel*.' August. Bishop of Sodor and Man: 'Health and Holiness' (III John i. 2). Preached at Health Congress. C. T. Wilson: 'Effects of Mohammedanism.' W. A. Purton: 'Mr. Kipling and Clergymen.' Reviews. 'F. W. Orde Ward (and others) *Lux Hominum*'; 'Schmid *The Scientific Creed of a Theologian*.' September. Dean Wace: 'Evangelical Religion and Roman Catholicism.' A. E. Barnes-Lawrence: 'The Holy Communion.' H. Lewis: 'Evangelical Churchmen and Social Problems.' G. H. Box: 'The Jewish Sacred Year and Calendar.' Reviews. 'H. J. C. Knight *The Temptation*'; 'W. F. Lofthouse *Ethics and Atonement*'; 'Eck Sin.'

*The English Historical Review* (Vol. XXII. No. 87. July 1907. Longmans). J. B. Bury: 'The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, II.' G. H. Orpen: 'Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland.' R. G. Marsden: 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast.' J. H. Round: 'The Origin of Belvoir Castle.' H. E. Salter: 'William of Newburgh.' H. J. Lawlor: 'An Unnoticed Charter of Henry III, 1217.' A re-issue of the Great Charter, in the *Liber Niger* at Christ Church, Dublin. W. Miller: 'Notes on Athens under the Franks.' W. C. D. Whetham: 'The Sale of Bishops' Lands during the Civil War and the Commonwealth.' C. L. Falkiner: 'William Farmer's Chronicles of Ireland, II.' Reviews. E. W. Brooks: 'W. G. Holmes *Age of Justinian and Theodora, II.*' A. Souter: Plenkers *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*.' H. W. C. Davis: 'Halphen *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*' and '*Études sur les Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise*'.

E. Barker : 'Cartellieri Philipp II August. II, Der Kreuzzug, 1187-91.' W. Miller : 'Rodd *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea*' G. Le Strange : 'Beazley *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, III.' C. Johnson : 'Maiocchi e Casacca *Codex diplomaticus ordinis E. S. Augustini Papiae*' C. L. Kingsford : 'Oman *Political History of England*, 1377-1485.' H. F. Browne : 'Steffens u. Reinhardt *Die Nuntiatur von Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, 1579-81*' H. Rashdall : 'Macray *Register of Magdalen College, Oxford*, IV, V.' P. F. Willert : 'L. Maigron *Fontenelle*'

*The Economic Review* (Vol. XVII. No. 3. July 1907. Rivingtons). N. P. Williams : 'Undenominationalism as an Educational Principle.' G. Lansbury : 'Unemployment, II.' Reviews. J. R. Brooke : 'E. Jebb Cambridge : a Brief Study in Social Questions.' J. St. G. Heath : 'Cadbury-Matheson-Shann Women's Work and Wages.' Very favourable.

*The Classical Quarterly* (Vol. I. Nos. 2-3. July 1907. Nutt). L. E. Mattheai : 'On the Classification of Roman Allies.' T. Ashby : 'Rodocanachi *The Roman Capitol in Ancient and Modern Times* [E.T.]'

*The Classical Review* (Vol. XXI. Nos. 4-5. August-September 1907. Nutt). A. B. Cook : 'Sukophantes.' Originally 'one who shows the fig' — i.e. one who makes with his hand the sign known as 'the fig.' Illustrated. T. Hodgkin : 'A. Gardner *Theodore of Studium*' Favourable. W. H. D. Rouse : 'M. Hamilton *Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*' September. A. B. Keith : 'Farnell *Cults of the Greek States*' III, IV. J. W. Mackail : 'Pichon *Les derniers écrivains profanes*' F. Granger : 'J. Donaldson *Woman . . . in Ancient Greece and Rome and among the Early Christians*' G. M. Young : 'L. Cantarelli *La Serie dei Prefetti di Egito*. I, 30 B.C.-288 A.D.' W. M. Lindsay : 'Ludwig Traube.' 'L. Harkness.' 'W. G. Rutherford.'

*Revue Biblique Internationale* (Vol. IV. No. 3. July 1907. Paris : Lecoffre). M. J. Lagrange : '(1) La Crète ancienne' (*suite*) ; (2) 'Encore le Nom de Jahvé.' M. Magnien : 'La résurrection des morts d'après la première épître aux Thessaloniciens.' P. Dhorme : 'Le Cantique d'Anne (1 Sam. ii. 1-10).' M. R. Savignac : 'Monuments funéraires de la péninsule sinaïtique.' Illustrated. M. Abel : 'Inscriptions grecques d'El-Qounétrah.' H. Vincent : (1) 'Ossuaires juifs'; (2) 'Église byzantine et inscription romaine à Abou-Ghoch.' Illustrated. Reviews. M. J. Lagrange : 'Lods *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite*' (Lengthy and appreciative.) H. Vincent : 'P. Thomson *Loca sancta : Verzeichnis der im 1. bis 6. Jahrh. n. Chr. erwähnten Ortschaften Palästinas*' A. Condamin : 'Briggs *Psalms*, II.' P. Magnien : 'D. Round *Date of Galatians*' L. de Grandmaison : 'W. C. Allen *St. Matthew*' Lengthy. 'J. Leipoldt *Geschichte des N.T. Kanons*, I.' 'Rahlfs *Septuaginta-Studien*, II.' 'Dietrich *Ein Apparatus criticus zur Pešitto zum Propheten Jesaia*' 'C. H. H. Wright *Daniel and its Critics*' 'R. H. Charles *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*' 'Chevalier *Notre-Dame de Lorette*'

*Revue Bénédictine* (Vol. XXIV. No. 3. July 1907. Maredsous). A. Wilmart : 'L'Ad *Constantinum Liber Primus* de S. Hilaire de Poitiers et les *Fragments historiques*' (*suite et fin*). D. de Bruyne : 'Fragments retrouvés d'apocryphes priscillianistes.' Latin texts from the Reichenau MS. CCLIV. G. Morin : 'Le commentaire inédit de l'évêque latin Epiphanius

sur les Évangiles.' From the Reims MS. 427 and Arras MS. 709. L. Gougaud : 'Les conceptions du martyre chez les Irlandais.' H. Schuster : 'L'abbaye de Farfa et sa restauration au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle sous Hugues I' (*suite et fin*). D. de Bruyne : 'Le dernier verset des Actes. Une variante inconnue.' In *Liber de divinis scripturis ii* 'Quibus praedicabat paulus dicens : hic est iesus christus filius dei uiui, per quem iudicabitur omnis orbis terrarum.' G. Morin : (1) 'L'anamnèse de la messe romaine dans la première moitié du V<sup>e</sup> siècle'; (2) 'Un écrit de S. Julien de Tolède considéré à tort comme perdu.' *De remedii blasphemiae in Cod. Casanat. B. IV. 18* (641). R. Ancel : 'Notes à propos d'études sur la diplomatie pontificale au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.' U. Berlière : 'Lettres inédites des bénédictins de Saint-Maur au Cardinal Gualterio.' Comptes rendus. 'P. Dhorme Choix de Textes religieux Assyro-babyloniens.' B. Lebbe : 'Cabrol Les Origines liturgiques'; 'Wieland Mensa und Confessio, I'; 'G. Tyrrell A Much-abused Letter'; 'Buonaiuti Lo gnosticismo.' U. Berlière : 'Zeiller Les Origines chrétiennes dans la province romaine de Dalmatie'; 'Eudres Honorius Augustodunensis'; 'Biaudet Le saint-Siège et la Sureté durant la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.' 'Douais L'Inquisition' et 'Vacandard L'Inquisition : étude historique.' 'Barbier Le Progrès du Libéralisme catholique en France sous le Pape Léon XIII.' 1,156 pages.

*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (N.S. Vol. II. No. 2. 1907. Paris). F. Nau (1) 'Les Patrologies syriaque et orientale et la Revue de l'O.C.'; (2) 'La légende des saints évêques Héraclide, Mnason et Rhodon, ou l'apostolicité de l'église de Chypre' et 'Une lettre apocryphe de Paul et Barnabé aux Cypriotes' MS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. gr. 769; (3) 'Histoires des solitaires égyptiens (*suite*)' MS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. Coislin. 126. E. Porcher : 'Sévère d'Antioche dans la littérature copte.' S. Grébaut : 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine'; (1) 'La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts,' (2) 'Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs.' From the Abbadie MS. 51. F. Tournebize : 'Étude sur la conversion de l'Arménie au Christianisme, ainsi que sur la doctrine et les usages de l'église arménienne primitive' (*suite*). L. Leroy : 'Les églises des chrétiens (traduction de l'arabe d'Al-Makrisi.)' E. Tisserand : 'Les découvertes archéologiques en Palestine à propos d'un livre récent' (H. Vincent Canaan). J. Bousquet : 'F. v. d. Steen de Jehay De la situation légale des sujets ottomans non musulmans.' M. A. Kugener : 'Sachau Syrische Rechtstücken.' F. Nau : 'Rosenberg Phœnikische Sprachlehre und Epigraphik.' (Favourable. Price 2 Marks only!) 'Diehl Études byzantines.'

*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Vol. VIII. No. 3. July 1907. Louvain). F. Cavallera : 'Les fragments de saint Amphiloque dans l'*Hodegos* et le *Tome dogmatique* d'Anastase le Sinaïte.' A. Fierens : 'La question franciscaine. Le MS. II. 2326 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. III. La *Vita S. Francisci anonyma Bruxellensis*.' L. Willaert : 'Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques (1598-1625). II. Intervention des souverains anglais en faveur du protestantisme aux Pays-Bas.' K. Bihlmeyer : '(↑) F. X. von Funk.' Comptes rendus. P. de Puniet : 'C. H. Turner *History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas in the Early Centuries of the Church*.' R. Maere : 'Wieland Mensa u. Confessio, I.' J. de Ghellinck : 'Feder Justins des Märtyrers Lehre von Jesus Christus.' F. Cavallera : 'Ficker Amphi-

*lochiana.'* J. de Guibert : 'Leclercq *L'Espagne chrétienne.*' M. Jaquin : 'Roger *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin.*' C. Hermeline : 'Bréhier *L'Église et l'Orient au moyen âge. Les Croisades.*' P. Fournier : 'V. W. von Glanwell *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deudsedit, I.*' L. Guillot : 'F. C. Hingeston-Randolph *Register of Thomas de Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter*' (very favourable). G. Mollat : 'Ehrle *Martin de Alpartil Chronica actitatorum temporibus Benedicti XIII.*' M. Legrand : 'Kalkoff *Forschungen zu Luthers Römischen Prozess.*' L. Noël : 'E. Janssens *La philosophie et l'apologétique de Pascal.*' P. Demeuldre : 'H. Druon *Fénelon.*' J. Rambaud : 'Cambridge Modern History. IX. Napoleon.' A. de Ridder : 'Debidour *L'Église catholique et l'État (1870-1906)*' et 'Lecanuet *L'Église de France sous la troisième république.'*

*Revue des Questions historiques* (No. 163. July 1907. Paris). C. Callewaert : 'Les persécutions contre les chrétiens dans la politique religieuse de l'empire romain.' Baron de Maricourt et A. Driart : 'Une abbaye de filles au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Gomerfontaine, II.' De Lanzac de Laborie : 'Les débuts du régime concordataire à Paris. L'épiscopat du Cardinal de Belloy (1802-8).' P. Doncœur : 'La condamnation de Jean de Monzon par P. d'Orgement, évêque de Paris (1387).' A. Isnard : 'Quelques livres sur la Révolution française.' A. Wilmart : 'Holder *Die Reichenauer Handschriften.*' P. Pisani : 'Tausin *Dictionnaire des devises ecclésiastiques*'; 'Houtin *La Crise du clergé.*' H. Leclercq : 'J. Braun *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident u. Orient* ('indispensable'). P. Allard : 'Cumont *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*'; 'Martroye *Genséric.*' M. Besnier : 'Bludau *Juden u. Judenverfolgungen im alten Alexandria*'; 'Allard *Les dernières persécutions du III<sup>e</sup> siècle.*' P. Fournier : 'Flach *Les Origines de l'ancienne France, X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles, III.*' G. Péries : 'A. Gottlob *Kreuzablass u. Almosenablass.*' J. Besse : 'B. Albers *Con-suetudines monasticae, II*'; 'Plenkens *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln.*'

*Analecta Bollandiana* (Tom. XXVI. Fasc. II-III. July 1907. Brussels). H. Delehaye : (1) 'Saints de Chypre, textes inédits'; (2) 'Les sources de l'hagiographie cypriote'; (3) 'Le *Panegyricon de Néophyte le Reclus.*' A. Poncelet : 'Récit de la mort du pape S. Léon IX. Note complémentaire.' E. Hocedez : 'La *Vita prima Urbani V auctore anonymo.*' A. Poncelet : 'Catalogus codicum hagiograph. lat. bibliothec. Roman. praeter quam Vat., VI-IX. Codd. Bibliothec. Angelicae, Casanatensis, Chisianae, Corsinianae.' H. Moretus : 'Begley *The Diocese of Limerick.*' P. Peeters] : 'Bréhier *L'Église et l'Orient au moyen âge*'; 'Budge *Life of Takla Hāymānōt*'; 'Turaiev *Monumenta Aethiopiae hagiologica.*' H. D[elehaye] : 'J. W. Taylor *The Coming of the Saints*'; 'Mason *Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church*', 'Workman *Persecution in the Early Church*', 'A. Baumann *Les martyrs de Lyon*'; 'Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*'; 'P. de Félice *Le purgatoire de S. Patrice*'; 'A. Gardner *Theodore of Studium*', 'Marin S. Theodore. A. P[oncelet] : 'J. von Walter *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs.*' [F.] V[an] O[rtroy] : 'C. Dejob *La foi religieuse en Italie au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*'; 'Steffens-Reinhardt *Die Nuntiatur von G. F. Bonhomini, 1579-81.*' E. Hocedez : 'Les seize Carmélites de Compiègne.'

*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* (Vol. XII. No. 4. July-August 1907. Paris: Picard). A. Humbert: 'La France et les décrets du concile de Trente.' G. Herzog: 'La virginité de Marie après l'enfantement.' C. Cochin: 'Une lettre inédite d'Antoine Arnauld à Jean Neercassel.' L. de la Vallée Poussin: 'Religions de l'Inde, Bouddhisme.' A. Diès: 'Rivaud *La problème du Devenir et la notion de Matière dans la philosophie grecque*' (very lengthy notice); 'Guyot *L'infinié divine depuis Philon jusqu'à Plotin*'; 'R. Asmus *Julians Galiläerschrift*.

*Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* (Nos. 7-8. July-October 1907. Paris: Lecoffre). 'Le décret du Saint-Office.' The *Lamentabili sane exitu*.' E. Portalié: 'Qu'est-ce que la foi, d'après M. Mallet.' L. Saltet: 'Boehmer *Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury*.'

*Studi Religiosi* (Vol. VII. No. 4. July-August 1907. Florence). E. Pistelli: 'Il Pater Noster.' S. Minocchi: 'Tre mesi in Palestina (impressioni e giudizi).' A. Palmieri: 'La filosofia religiosa del principe Trubetzkoi.' 'Il Decreto della sacra Inquisizione.' Latin text. 'P. Saintyves *Le Miracle et la Critique historique*.' 'Jülicher Einleitung in das N. T.' 'Harnack *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*.' 'S. R. Driver *The Minor Prophets*.' 'S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, II.' 'J. F. Scholfield *Divine Authority*.' 'Brunetière—de Labriolle S. Vincent de Létrins.' S. Minocchi: 'Genesi ii 14-iii 22.'

*Teologisk Tidsskrift* (Vol. VIII. No. 4. 1907. Copenhagen). V. Ammundsen: 'Studier over vore Reformatorers Nadverlaere, II.' N. Teisen: 'Troen paa Gud.' F. Torm: 'Swete *Apocalypse*' and 'Bousset *Die Offenbarung Johannis*.' V. L. Petersen: 'Doumerque *Jean Calvin*.' A. T. Jörgensen: 'Walther *Für Luther wider Rom*.' J. O. Andersen: 'Wieland *Mensa u. Confessio*.' C. Glarbo: 'Gennrich *Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt*'.

*The Church Missionary Review* (Nos. 700-1. August-September 1907. C.M.S.) B. Baring Gould: 'The Urgent Cry from China.' 'Scott-Moncrieff *Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint*.' 'Bromhall *The Chinese Empire*.' 'Mackintosh *Coillard of the Zambezi*.' September. R. Maconochie: 'Lord Curzon in India.' W. St. C. Tisdall: 'Christianity as a Universal Religion compared with the Claims of Buddhism.' W. S. Moule: 'Chinese Workers and their Support.' Each European worker costs the C.M.S. 200*l.*, each Chinese 20*l.*

*The East and the West* (Vol. V. No. 19. July 1907. S.P.G.) J. Ferguson: 'Female Education in Asia.' N. Macnicol: 'The Growth of Christianity in the Early Centuries and in India To-day: a Comparison and a Contrast.' H. C. Puxley: 'Bush Brotherhoods in Queensland.' H. McNeile: 'The Waning Influence of non-Christian Religions in India.' W. R. Mounsey: 'An Outpost of Empire: a New Guinea Government Report.' T. A. Gurney: 'The Influence of Laymen on Missions.' A. C. Read: 'Have we spoilt the Natives in S. Africa?' A. Margösches: 'Items of Work in S. India.' O. H. Parry: 'Some Aspects of Eastern Christianity.' 'Ellison and Walpole *Church and Empire*.' 'Mackintosh *Coillard of the Zambezi*.' 'A. G. Leonard *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*.' 'G. W. Knox *Development of Religion in Japan*.' 'J. A. Doyle *The English in America*'

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

The more important will be reviewed in short notices or articles as space permits.

## BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

ABBOTT, E. A.—*Notes on New Testament Criticism.* 'Diatessarica,' vii. Pp. xxx+314. (A. and C. Black.) 7s. 6d. net.

BENNETT, W. H.—*The Life of Christ according to St. Mark.* Pp. xii+296. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5s.

BUCHANAN, E. S.—*The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis (ff [or ff\_2]).* Being the first complete Edition of the MS. now numbered Lat. 17225 in the National Library at Paris, together with Fragments of the Catholic Epistles, of the Acts and of the Apocalypse from the Fleury Palimpsest (*h*) now numbered Lat. 6400 G in the same Library, and for the first time completely edited with the aid of the printed Text of Berger 'Le Palimpseste de Fleury.' 'Old Latin Biblical Texts,' V. Pp. viii+120. (Oxford University Press.) 12s. 6d. net.

DEISSMANN, A.—*New Light on the New Testament from Records of the Graeco-Roman Period.* Translated from the Author's MS. by L. R. M. STRACHAN. Pp. xii+128. (T. and T. Clark.) 3s. net.

GORE, RIGHT REV. C. (Bishop of Birmingham).—*St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.* A Practical Exposition. Pp. x+278. (Murray.) 2s. 6d. net.

— *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.* A Practical Exposition. Two vols. Pp. viii+326, viii+242. (Murray.) 2s. 6d. each net. Three volumes of a valuable and very cheap reprint of Dr. Gore's works.

KNOX, E. M.—*Genesis.* 'Bible Lessons for Schools.' Pp. x+172. (Macmillan.) 1s. 6d.

LAWSON, H. N.—*The Bible Story for Children of All Ages.* Revised by F. P. LAWSON. 'The Beginnings of the Jewish Church.' Pp. xiv+206. (Macmillan.) 3s. 6d. Illustrated.

THIRLTE, J. W.—*Old Testament Problems: Critical Studies in the Psalms and Isaiah.* Pp. viii+336. (Frowde.) 6s. net.

THORNE, H. A.—*The Holy Bible an Essentially and Exclusively Church Book.* Pp. xii+90. (Mowbray.) 2s. net.

## APOLOGETICS.

HUNT, J. B.—*Good Without God. Is it Possible?* Pp. xii+192. (Allenson.) 2s. 6d. net.

SKRINE, J. H.—*What is Faith? A Hermit's Epistle to some that are without.* Pp. xvi+338. (Longmans.) 5s. net.

TRISTRAM, J. F.—*Haeckel and His Riddles: or Christianity and Natural Science.* Pp. viii+80. (S.P.C.K.) 6d. By the Senior Science Master, Manchester Grammar School.

WAKEFORD, J.—*Rock or Sand? Is Christianity true or false?* Pp. 64. (S.P.C.K.) 6d.

*What Think Ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?* Pp. xii+82. (Longmans.) 1s. A collection of Scriptural Passages.

## DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

AUSTIN, J. W.—*Unitarian Christianity and the New Theology*. Pp. x+54. (Birmingham : Cornish.) 1s. net.

BALLARD, F.—*New Theology—Its Meaning and Value*. An Eirenicon. Pp. 128. (C. H. Kelly.) 6d. net.

DU BOSE, W. P.—*The Soteriology of the New Testament*. Pp. xvi+392. (Longmans.) 5s. net. A re-issue.

GORE, RIGHT REV. C. (Bishop of Birmingham).—*Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*. Pp. xxiv+324. (Murray.) 2s. 6d. net.

— *The Body of Christ; an Inquiry into the Institution and Doctrine of the Holy Communion*. Pp. xxvi+334. (Murray.) 2s. 6d. net. With a new Preface dealing with the Royal Commission.

HAGUE, D. *Confirmation*. Why we have it : what it means : what it requires. With a Preface by the BISHOP OF DURHAM. Pp. 64. (Stock.) 6d. net.

LLOYD-THOMAS, J. M.—*A Free Catholic Church*. Pp. vi+118. (Williams and Norgate.) 1s. 6d. net.

THORPE, J. H.—*A Catechism Concerning the Church*. Fourth Edition. Pp. 48. (Stock.) 1d. net.

TYRRELL, G.—*Through Scylla and Charybdis or the Old Theology and the New*. Pp. xii+386. (Longmans.) 5s. net.

'A LAYMAN.'—Who was Jesus? or the Virgin Birth and the New Theology. Pp. 32. (Stock.) 6d. net.

## CHURCH HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

ASTLEY, H. J. D.—*Bury St. Edmunds: Notes and Impressions*. Pp. 56. (Stock.) 1s. 6d. net.

BAUR, C. (O.S.B.)—*S. Jean Chrysostome et ses Œuvres dans l'Histoire littéraire*. Essai présenté à l'occasion du XV<sup>e</sup> centenaire de S. Jean Chrysostome. Pp. xii+312. (Paris : A. Fontemoing.) 5 fr.

BEVAN, VEN. W. L.—*The Past and Present of a Welsh Diocese*. Pp. 66. (S.P.C.K.) 6d. A useful and instructive little book on the Diocese of St. David's.

BROCKELMANN, C., FINCK, F. N., LEIPOLDT, J., AND LITTMANN, E.—*Geschichte der christlichen Litteratur des Orients*. 'Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen,' III. 2. Pp. viii+282. (Leipzig : C. F. Amelangs Verlag.) 4 M.

COX, J. C., and HARVEY, A.—*English Church Furniture*. 'The Antiquary's Books.' Pp. xvi+398. (Methuen.) 7s. 6d. With 121 illustrations.

LEA, H. C.—*History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*. Third edition, revised. Two vols. Pp. xvi+482, x+412. (Williams and Norgate.) 21s. net.

PHILLIPS, S.—*Fulham Palace, formerly called Fulham House, and Fulham Manor*. A Short Account of the old Manor House of Fulham, written at the wish of the Bishop on the Occasion of His Lordship's visit to America and Canada, 1907. Pp. viii+92. (Wells Gardner.) 2s. 6d. Illustrated.

SMITH, E. F. ABBOTT.—*The Church in England*. A Simple Church

History. With Preface by R. LINKLATER. Pp. 168. (Skeffington.) 2s. 6d.

SMITH, P. V.—*The Church Handbook for Members of the Anglican Communion.* Pp. xxviii + 186. (Wells Gardner.) 2s. 6d. net.

#### DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

BUNYAN, JOHN.—*Grace Abounding and the Pilgrim's Progress.* The Text edited by J. BROWN. Pp. viii + 432. (Cambridge University Press.) 4s. 6d. net. An admirable new edition.

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*Christus Futurus.* By the Author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia.* Pp. xviii + 386. (Macmillan.) 5s. net.

#### LITURGICA AND HYMNOLOGY.

*A Dictionary of Hymnology setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations.* Edited by J. JULIAN. Revised Edition, with new supplement. Pp. xviii + 1768. (Murray.) 21s. net.

DRURY, T. W.—*Elevation in the Eucharist, its History and Rationale.* Pp. xvi + 188. (Cambridge University Press.) 3s. 6d. net.

STALEY, VERY REV. V.—*The Liturgical Year, an Explanation of the Origin, History and Significance of the Festival Days and Fasting Days of the English Church.* Pp. xii + 264. (Mowbray.) 3s. 6d. net.

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#### GENERAL LITERATURE.

DALE, E.—*National Life and Character in the Times of Early English Literature*. Pp. xiv + 338. (Cambridge University Press.) 8s. net.

MARTIN, W. A. P.—*The Awakening of China*. Pp. xvi + 328. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 16s. net. Illustrated from Photographs.

WHARTON, E.—*Madame de Treymes*. Pp. iv + 110. (Macmillan.) 2s. 6d. net.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

TOMPKINS, A. E.—*Turbines*. 'Romance of Science' Series. Pp. 208. (S.P.C.K.) 3s. 6d.

WADE, G. W. and J. H.—*Somerset*. 'The Little Guides' Series. Pp. xii + 292. (Methuen.) 2s. 6d. net. With thirty-two illustrations and two maps. A charming little book.

*The Benedictines of Caldey Island (formerly of Painsthorpe, York)*. Containing the History, Purpose, Method and Summary of the Rule of the Benedictines of the Isle of Caldey, S. Wales. Edited by W. R. SHEPHERD. Pp. xvi + 110. (Published at the Abbey, Caldey, S. Wales.) 1s. net. Illustrated.

*The Hundred and Third Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Year ending March MDCCCCVII*. With Appendix and a List of Subscribers and Benefactors. Pp. xvi + 278. (Bible House, 146 Victoria Street, E.C.) 1s.

*The Expository Times*. Edited by J. HASTINGS. Vol. XIII. Oct. 1906-Sept. 1907. Pp. viii + 568. (T. and T. Clark.) 7s. 6d.

*What we want*. An Open Letter to Pius X. from a Group of Priests. Translated from the Italian, together with the Papal Discourse which called forth the Letter, by A. L. Lilley. Pp. xxiv + 72. (Murray.) 2s. net.

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## PREMIUMS

FOR ASSURANCE OF £100 AT DEATH—WITH PROFITS

Age next Birth-day.	Annual Premium payable during Life.	ANNUAL PREMIUM LIMITED TO								Single Payment.	Age next Birth-day.		
		25 Payments.		20 Payments.		15 Payments.		10 Payments.					
		£	s.	£	s.	£	s.	£	s.	£	s.		
26	1 18 4	2	10	5	2	17	0	3	8	6	4 12 6	38 4 0	26
27	1 19 3	2	11	3	2	17	11	3	9	7	4 14 0	38 17 0	27
28	2 0 3	2	12	1	2	18	10	3	10	8	4 15 7	39 11 0	28
29	2 1 3	2	13	0	2	19	10	3	11	11	4 17 2	40 5 0	29
*30	2 2 4	*2	13	11	3	0	10	3	13	2	4 18 10	40 19 0	*30
31	2 3 5	2	14	11	3	1	11	3	14	5	5 0 7	41 14 0	31
32	2 4 7	2	15	11	3	3	0	3	15	8	5 2 4	42 9 0	32
33	2 5 10	2	17	0	3	4	2	3	17	0	5 4 2	43 4 0	33
34	2 7 2	2	18	1	3	5	5	3	18	5	5 6 0	44 0 0	34
35	2 8 6	2	19	3	3	6	7	3	19	11	5 7 11	44 16 0	35
36	2 10 0	3	0	5	3	7	11	4	1	4	5 9 11	45 13 0	36
37	2 11 6	3	1	8	3	9	3	4	2	11	5 11 11	46 10 0	37
38	2 13 1	3	3	0	3	10	8	4	4	6	5 14 0	47 7 0	38
39	2 14 9	3	4	5	3	12	1	4	6	2	5 16 1	48 4 0	39
+40	2 16 6	+3	5	11	3	13	7	4	7	11	5 18 4	49 2 0	+40
41	2 18 6	3	7	8	3	15	4	4	9	10	6 0 9	50 0 0	41
42	3 0 9	3	9	7	3	17	4	4	11	11	6 3 4	50 19 0	42
43	3 3 2	3	11	7	3	19	4	4	14	0	6 5 11	51 18 0	43
44	3 5 7	3	13	8	4	1	5	4	16	3	6 8 7	52 17 0	44
45	3 8 2	3	15	11	4	3	7	4	18	6	6 11 4	53 16 0	45
46	3 10 10	3	18	2	4	5	10	5	0	11	6 14 2	54 16 0	46
47	3 13 8	4	0	7	4	8	2	5	3	4	6 17 0	55 16 0	47
48	3 16 8	4	3	2	4	10	7	5	5	10	6 19 11	56 16 0	48
49	3 19 10	4	5	10	4	13	2	5	8	6	7 3 0	57 16 0	49
50	4 3 2	4	8	8	4	15	11	5	11	2	7 6 1	58 17 0	50

[The usual non-participating Rates of other Offices differ little from these Premiums.]

\* At age 30 the Premium for £1000 at death, by a yearly payment, *during life*, is £21:3:4. This Premium would generally elsewhere secure (with Profits) less than £900 instead of £1000. Or, for £1000, 25 yearly payments of £26:19:2—being thus free of payment before age 55.

† At age 40, the Premium ceasing before age 65 is, for £1000, £32:19:2—about the same as many Offices require during the whole term of life. Before the Premiums have ceased, the Policy will have shared in at least one division of surplus. To Professional Men and others, whose income is dependent on continuance of health, the limited payment system is specially recommended.

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